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THE ONE-MAN POWER VERSUS CONGRESS.

ADDRESS

OF

HON. CHARLES SUMNER,

At the Music Hall, Boston, Mass., October 2, 1866.

Mr. President: It is now more than a year since I last had the honor of addressing my fellow-citizens of Massachusetts. On that occasion I dwelt on what seemed to be the proper policy towards the States recently in rebellion—insisting that it was our duty, while renouncing indemnity for the past, to obtain at least security for the future; and this security, I maintained, could be found only in the exclusion of ex-rebels from political power, and in irreversible guarantees especially applicable to the national creditor and the national freedman. During the intervening months, the country has been agitated by this question, which was perplexed by an unexpected difference between the President and Congress. The President insists upon installing ex-rebels in political power, and sets at naught the claim of guarantees and the idea of security for the future, while he denies to Congress any control over this question, and takes it all to himself. Congress has asserted its control, and has endeavored to shut out ex-rebels from political power and to establish guarantees, to the end that there might be security for the future. Meanwhile, the States recently in rebellion, with the exception of Tennessee, are without representation in Congress. Thus stands the case.

THE TWO PARTIES IN THE CONTROVERSY.

The two parties in the controversy are the President on the one side, and the people of the United States in Congress assembled on the other side; the first representing the Executive, the second representing the Legislative. It is the *One-Man Power* vs. *Congress*. Of course, each of these performs its part in the government; but, until now, it has always been supposed that the Legislative *gave the law* to the Executive, and not that the Executive *gave the law* to the Legislative. Perhaps this irrational assumption becomes more astonishing when it is considered that the actual President, besides being the creature of an accident, is inferior in ability and character, while the House of Representatives is eminent in both respects. A President, who has already sunk below any other President, even Buchanan, madly undertakes to give the law to a House of Representatives, which, there is reason to believe, is the best that has sat since the formation of the Constitution. Thus, in looking at the parties, we are tempted to exclaim: Such a President dictating to such a Congress! It was said of Gustavus Adolphus that he had drilled the Diet of Sweden to vote or be silent at the word of command; but Andrew Johnson is not Gustavus Adolphus, and the American Congress is not the Diet of Sweden.

IRREVERSIBLE GUARANTEES MUST BE HAD.

The question at issue is one of the vastest ever presented for practical decision, involving the fame and weal of this Republic at home and abroad. It is not a military question; it is a question of statesmanship. We are to secure by counsel what was won by war. Failure now will make the war itself a failure; surrender now will undo all our victories. Let the President prevail, and straightway the plighted faith of the Republic will be broken; the national creditor and the national freedman will be sacrificed; the rebellion itself will flaunt its insulting power; the whole country, in length and breadth, will be disturbed; and the rebel region will be handed over to misrule and anarchy. Let Congress prevail, and all this will be reversed; the plighted faith of the Republic will be preserved; the national creditor and the national freedman will be protected; the rebellion itself will be trampled out forever; the whole country, in length and breadth, will be at peace; and the rebel region, no longer harassed by controversy and injustice, will enjoy the richest fruits of security and reconciliation. To labor for this cause may well tempt the young and rejoice the old.

And now, to-day, I protest again against any admission of ex-rebels to the great partnership of this Republic, and I renew the claim of irreversible guarantees especially applicable to the national creditor and the national freedman, insisting now, as I did a year ago, that it is our duty, while renouncing indemnity for the past, to obtain at least security for the future. At the close of a terrible war, which has wasted our treasure, which has murdered our fellow-citizens, which has filled the land with funerals, which has maimed and wounded multitudes whom death had spared, and which has broken up the very foundations of peace, our first duty is to provide safeguards for the future. This can be only by provisions, sure, fundamental and irrepealable, which shall fix forever the results of the war, the obligations of government and the equal rights of all. Such is the suggestion of common prudence and of self-defence, as well as of common honesty. To this end we must make haste slowly. States which precipitated themselves out of Congress must not be permitted to precipitate themselves back. They must not be allowed to enter those halls which they treasonably deserted, until we have every reasonable assurance of future good conduct. We must not admit them, and then repent our folly. Those words, once used in the British Parliament and revived by Mr. Webster, furnish the key to our duty:

> "I hear a lion in the lobby roar;
> Say, Mr. Speaker, shall I shut the door?
> Or shall we rather let the monster in,
> Then see if we can shut him out again?"

I am against letting the monster in, until he is no longer terrible in mouth or paw.

NO UNNECESSARY DELAY.

But while holding this ground, I desire to disclaim every sentiment of vengeance or punishment, and also every thought of delay or procrastination. Here I do not yield to the President or to any other person. Nobody can be more anxious than I am to see this chasm closed forever.

There is a long way and a short way. There is a long time and a short time. If there be any whose policy is for the longest way or for the longest time, I am not of that number. I am for the shortest way, and also for the shortest time. And I object to the interference of the President, because, whether intentionally or unintentionally, he interposes delay and keeps the chasm open. More than all others, the President, by his officious assumptions, has lengthened the way and lengthened the time. Of this there can be no doubt.

A LOST OPPORTUNITY.

From all quarters we learn that after the surrender of Lee, the rebels were ready for any terms, if they could escape with their lives. They were vanquished, and they knew it. The rebellion was crushed, and they knew it. They hardly expected to save a small fraction of their property. They did not expect to save their political power. They were too sensible not to see that participants in rebellion could not pass at once into the partnership of government. They made up their minds to exclusion. They were submissive. There was nothing they would not do, *even to the extent of franchising their freedmen and providing for them homesteads.* Had the National government merely taken advantage of this plastic condition, it might have stamped Equal Rights upon the whole people, as upon molten wax, while it fixed the immutable conditions of permanent peace. The question of reconstruction would have been settled before it arose. It is sad to think that this was not done. Perhaps in all history there is no instance of such an opportunity lost. Truly should our country say in penitential supplication: "We have left undone those things which we ought to have done; and we have done those things which we ought not to have done."

Do not take this on my authority. Listen to those on the spot, who have seen with their own eyes. A brave officer of our army wrote to me from Alabama as follows:

"I believe the mass of the people could have been easily controlled if none of the excepted classes had received pardon. These classes did not expect anything more than life, and even feared for that. Let me condense the whole subject. At the surrender, the South could have been moulded at will; but it is now as stiff-necked and rebellious as ever."

In the same vein another officer testifies from Texas, as follows:

"There is one thing, however, that is making against the speedy return of quietness, not only in this State, but throughout the entire South, and *that is the reconstruction policy of President Johnson.* It is doing more to unsettle this country than people who are not practical observers of its workings have any idea of. Before this policy was made known the people were prepared to accept anything. They expected to be treated as rebels, their leaders being punished and the property of others confiscated. But the moment it was made known all their assurance returned. Rebels have again become arrogant and exacting; treason stalks through the land unabashed."

This testimony might be multiplied indefinitely. From city and country, from highway and byway, there is but one voice. When, therefore, the President, in opprobrious terms, complains of Congress as interposing delay, I reply to him, "No, sir; it is you who, by unexpected and most perverse assumptions, have put off the glad day of security and reconciliation, which is so much longed for. It is you who have inaugurated anew the *malignant sectionalism* which, so long as it exists, will keep this Union divided in fact, if not in name. Sir, you are the disunionist."

THE PRESIDENTIAL POLICY FOUNDED ON TWO BLUNDERS.

Glance, if you please, at that Presidential policy—so constantly called "my policy"—which is now so vehemently pressed upon the country, and you will find that it pivots on at least two alarming blunders, as can be easily seen, *first*, in setting up the *One-Man Power*, as the source of jurisdiction over this great question; and, *secondly*, in using the *One-Man Power* for the restoration of rebels to place and influence, so that good Unionists, whether white or black, are rejected, and the rebellion itself is revived in the new governments. Each of these assumptions is an enormous blunder. You will see that I use a mild term to characterize such a double-headed usurpation.

THE ONE-MAN POWER.

(1.) Pray, sir, where in the Constitution do you find any sanction of the *One-Man Power* as the source of this extraordinary jurisdiction? I had always supposed that the President was the Executive, bound to see the laws faithfully executed; but not empowered to make laws. The Constitution expressly says: "The Executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America." But the Legislative Power is elsewhere. According to the Constitution, "All Legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives." And yet the President has assumed legislative power, even to the extent of making laws and constitutions for States. You all know that, at the close of the war, when the rebel States were without lawful governments, he assumed to supply them. In this business of reconstruction, he assumed to determine who should vote, and also to affix conditions for adoption by the conventions. Look, if you please, at the character of this assumption.

The President, from the Executive mansion at Washington, reaches his long executive arm into certain States and dictates their constitutions. Surely there is nothing executive in this assumption. It is not even military. It is legislative, pure and simple, and nothing else. It is an attempt by the *One-Man Power* to do what can be done only by the Legislative branch of the government. And yet so perverse is the President in absorbing to himself all power over the reconstruction of the rebel States, that he insists that Congress must accept his work without addition or subtraction. He can impose conditions; Congress cannot. He can determine who shall vote; Congress cannot. His jurisdiction is not only complete, but exclusive. If all this be so, then has our President a most extraordinary power, never before dreamed of. He may exclaim with Louis XIV.: "The State, it is I;" while, like this magnificent king, he sacrifices the innocent and repeals that fatal crime, the revocation of the edict of Nantes. His whole policy is a "revocation" of all that has been promised, and all that we have a right to expect.

Here it is well to note a distinction, which is not without importance in the discussion of the issue between the President and Congress. Nobody doubts that the President may, during war, govern any conquered territory as commander-in-chief, and for this purpose he may detail any military officer as military governor. But it is one thing to govern a State temporarily by military power, and quite another thing to create a constitution for a State which shall continue *when the military power has expired.* The former is a military act, and belongs to the President; the latter is a civil act, and belongs to Congress. On this distinction I stand, and this is not the first time that I have asserted it. Of course the governments set up in this illegitimate way are necessarily illegitimate, except so far as they may acquire validity from time or subsequent recognition. It needs no learned Chief-Justice of North Carolina solemnly to declare this. It is manifest from the nature of the case.

But this illegitimacy becomes still more manifest when it is known that the constitutions which the President orders and tries to cram upon Congress have never been submitted to a popular vote. Each is the naked offspring of an illegitimate convention, called into being by the President, in the exercise of an illegitimate power.

There is another provision of the Constitution, by which, according to a judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States, this question is referred to Congress and not to the President. I refer to the provision that "*the United States* shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican government." On these words Chief-Justice Taney, speaking for the Supreme Court, has adjudged: "that it rests with Congress to decide what government is the established one in a State; as *the United States* guarantee to each State a republican government, *Congress must necessarily decide what government is established in a State* before it can determine whether it is republican or not; and that undoubtedly a military government, established as the permanent government of a State, would not be a republican government, and it would be the duty of Congress to overthrow it." (Luther *vs.* Borden, 7 Howard, Rep. 42.) But the President sets at naught this commanding text of the Constitution, reinforced by this positive judgment of the Supreme Court, and claims this extraordinary power for himself, to the exclusion of Congress. He is "the United States." In him the Republic is manifest. He can do all; Congress can do nothing.

And now the whole country is summoned by the President to recognize State governments created by constitutions thus illegitimate in origin and character. Without considering if they contain the proper elements of security for the future, or if they are republican in form; and without any inquiry into the validity of their adoption—nay, in the very face of testimony, showing that they contain no elements of security for the future—that they are not republican in form—and that they have never been adopted by the loyal people, we are commanded to accept them; and when we hesitate, the President himself, leading the outcry, assails us with angry vituperation, blunted, it must be confessed, by a coarseness without precedent and without bounds. It is well that such a cause has such an advocate.

In thus setting up the *One-Man Power* as a source of jurisdiction over this great question, the President has committed a great blunder of constitutional law, proceeding from an immense egotism, in which the little pronoun "I" plays a gigantic part. It is "I" *vs.* the people of the United States in Congress assembled. On this unnatural blunder I might say more; but I have said enough. My present purpose is accomplished if I make you see it clearly.

GIVING POWER TO EX-REBELS.

(2.) The other blunder is of a different character. It is giving power to ex-rebels, at the expense of constant Unionists, white or black, and employing them in the work of reconstruction, so that the new governments continue to represent the rebellion. This same blunder, when committed by one of the heroes of the war, was promptly overruled by the President himself; but Andrew Johnson now does what Sherman was not allowed to do. The blunder is strange and unaccountable.

Here the evidence is constant and cumulative. It begins with his first proclamation, which was for the reconstruction of North Carolina. Holden was appointed Provisional Governor, an office unknown to the law, and for which there was no provision, although it was notorious that he had been a member of the convention which adopted the Act of secession, and that he himself had signed it. Then came Perry, Provisional Governor of South Carolina, who, besides holding a judicial station under the rebel government, was one of its Commissioners of Impressments. I have a rebel newspaper containing one of his advertisements in the latter character. There also was Parsons, Provisional Governor of Alabama, who in 1863 introduced into the Legislature of that State formal resolutions tendering to Jefferson Davis "hearty thanks for his good labors in the cause of our common country, together with the assurance of continued support;" and afterwards, in 1864, denounced our national debt, exclaiming in the Legislature, "Does any sane man suppose we will consent to pay their (the United States) war debt, contracted in sending armies and navies to burn our towns and cities, to lay waste our country, whose soldiers have robbed and murdered our peaceful inhabitants?" Such were the men appointed by the President to institute loyal governments. But this selection becomes more strange and unaccountable when it is considered that all this was done in defiance of law.

There is a recent enactment of Congress, which requires that no person shall be appointed to any office of the United States, unless such office has been created by law. And there is another enactment of Congress, which provides that all officers, civil or military, before entering upon their official duties or receiving any salary or compensation, shall take an oath declaring that they have held no office under the rebellion, or given any aid thereto. In the face of these enactments, which are sufficiently explicit, the President began his work of reconstruction by appointing civilians to an office absolutely unknown to the law, when besides they could not take the required oath of office; and to complete the disregard of Congress, he fixed their salary and paid it out of the funds of the War Department.

Of course such a proceeding was an instant encouragement and license to all ex-rebels, no matter how much blood was on their hands. Rebellion was at a premium. It was easy to see, that if these men were good enough to be governors of States, in defiance of Congress, all others in the same political predicament would be good enough for the inferior offices. And it was so. From top to bottom these States were organized by men who had been warring on their country. Ex-rebels were appointed by the governors or chosen by the people everywhere. Ex-rebels sat in conventions and in legislatures. Ex-rebels became judges, justices of the peace, sheriffs and everything else, while the faithful Unionist, white or black, was rejected. As with Cordelia, his love was "according to his bond, nor more nor less;" but all this was of no avail. How often during the war have I pleaded for such patriots and urged you to every effort for their redemption; and now, when our arms have prevailed, it is they who are cast down while the enemies of the Republic are exalted. The pirate Semmes returns from his ocean cruise to be chosen Probate Judge in Alabama. In New Orleans the rebel mayor at the time the city surrendered to the national flag is once more mayor, and employs his regained power in that terrible massacre which rises in judgment against the presidential policy. Persons are returned to Congress, whose service in the rebellion makes it impossible for them to take the oath of office, as in the case of Georgia, which selects as Senators Herschell V. Johnson, who was a Senator of the rebel Congress, and Alexander H. Stephens, the Vice-President of the rebellion. These are but instances; but from these you may learn all.

There is nothing in the reach of the President which he has not lavished on ex-rebels. The power of pardon and amnesty, like the power of appointment, has been used for them, by wholesale and retail. It would have been easy to affix a condition to every pardon, requiring that, before it took effect, the recipient should carve out of his estate a homestead for every one of his freedmen, and thus secure to each what they all covet so much, a piece of land. But the President did no such thing, although, in the words of the old writ, "often requested so to do." Such a condition would have helped the loyal freedman, rather than the rebel master. In the same spirit, while undertaking to determine who shall be voters, all colored persons, howsoever loyal, were disfranchised, while all white persons, except certain specified classes, although black with rebellion, were constituted voters on taking a simple oath of allegiance, thus giving to ex-rebels a prevailing power.

Partisans of the Presidential "policy" are in the habit of declaring that it is a continuation of the policy of the martyred Lincoln. This is a mistake. Would that he could rise from his bloody shroud to repel the calumny! But he has happily left his testimony behind in words which all who have ears to hear can hear. On one occasion the martyr presented the truth bodily when he said, in a suggestive metaphor, that we must "build up from the sound materials;" but his successor insists upon building from materials rotten with treason and gaping with rebellion. On another occasion the martyr said that "an attempt to guarantee and protect a *revived* State government, constructed in whole or in *preponderating part* from the *very element* against whose hostility and violence it is to be protected, is *simply absurd.*" But this is the very thing which the President is now attempting. He is constructing State governments not merely in preponderating part, *but in whole* from the hostile element. Therefore, he departs openly from the policy of the martyred Lincoln.

The martyr says to his successor that his policy is "simply absurd." He is right, although he might say more than this. Its absurdity is too apparent. It is as if, in abolishing the Inquisition, the inquisitors had been continued under another name, and Torquemada had received a fresh license for cruelty. It is as if King William, after the overthrow of James II., had made the infamous Jeffries Lord Chancellor. Common sense and common justice cry out against the outrage; and yet this is the Presidential "policy" now so passionately commended to the American people.

Government, according to Aristotle, is a "partnership," and I accept this term as especially applicable to our government. And now the President, in the exercise of the *One-Man Power*, decrees that communities lately in rebellion shall be taken at once into our "partnership." I object to the decree as dangerous to the Republic. I am not against pardon, clemency or magnanimity, except where they are at the expense of good men. I trust that they will always be practiced; but I insist that recent rebels shall not be admitted without proper precautions to the business of the firm. And I insist also that the *One-Man Power* shall not be employed to force them into the firm.

THE PRESIDENT INCONSISTENT WITH HIMSELF.

Such are two pivotal blunders of the President. It is not easy to see how he has fallen into these—so strong were his early professions the other way. The powers of Congress he had distinctly admitted. Thus, as early as 24th July, 1865, he had sent to Sharkey, acting by his appointment as Provisional Governor of Mississippi, this dispatch: "It must, however, be distinctly understood, that the restoration to which your proclamation refers *will be subject to the will of Congress.*" Nothing could be more positive; and he was equally positive against the restoration of rebels to power. You do not forget that, in accepting his nomination as Vice-President, he rushed forward to declare that the rebel States must be remodelled; that confiscation must be enforced, and that the rebels must be excluded from the work of reconstruction. His language was plain and unmistakable. Announcing that "government must be fixed on the principles of *eternal justice*," he went on to declare, that, "if the man who gave his influence and his means to destroy the government should be permitted to participate in the great work of reorganization, then all the previous blood so freely poured out will have been wantonly spilled, and all our victories go for naught." True, very true. Then, in words of surpassing energy, he cried out that "the great plantations must be seized and divided into small farms," and that "traitors should take the back seats in the work of restoration." Perhaps the true rule was never expressed with more homely and vital force than in this last saying, often repeated in different forms: "For rebels, back seats." Add to this that other saying so often repeated, "treason must be made odious," and you have two great principles of a just reconstruction, once proclaimed by the President, but now practically disowned by him.

HOW THE PRESIDENT FELL.

You will ask how the President fell? This is hard to say, certainly, without much plainness of speech. Mr. Seward openly confesses that he counselled the present fatal "policy." Unquestionably Mr. Blair, father and son, did the same. So also, I doubt not, did Mr. Preston King. It is easy to see that Mr. Seward was not a wise counsellor. This is not his first costly blunder. In formal dispatches he early announced that "the rights of the States and the condition of every human being will remain subject to exactly the same laws and forms of administration, whether the revolution shall succeed or whether it shall fail." And now he labors for the fulfilment of his own prophecy. Obviously from the beginning he has failed to comprehend the rebellion, while in his nature he is abnormal and eccentric, jumping like the knight on the chess-board, rather than moving on straight lines. Undoubtedly the influence of such a man over the President has not been good. But the President himself has been his own worst counsellor, as he has been his own worst defender. He does not open his mouth without furnishing evidence against himself. The part he is now playing will justify me in some details.

The brave words with which he accepted his nomination as Vice-President resounded through the country. He was elected. Then followed two scenes, each of which filled the people with dismay. The first was of the new Vice-President taking the oath of office—in the presence of the foreign ministers, the judges of the Supreme Court and the Senate—while in such a condition that his attempted speech became trivial and incoherent, and he did not know the name of the Secretary of the Navy, who is now the devoted supporter of his policy, as he has been his recent travelling companion. One month and one week afterwards President Lincoln was assassinated. The people, wrapt in affliction at the great tragedy, trembled as they beheld a drunken man ascend the heights of power. But they were generous and forgiving—almost forgetful. He was our President, and hands were outstretched to welcome and sustain him. His early utterances as President, although common-place, loose and wordy, gave assurance that the rebellion and its authors would find little favor from him. Treason was to be made odious.

PERSONAL RELATIONS WITH THE PRESIDENT.

It was at this time that my own relations with him commenced. I had known him slightly while he was in the Senate; but I lost no time in seeing him after he became President. He received me kindly. I hope I shall not err if I allude briefly to what passed between us. You are my constituents, and I wish you to know the mood of the President at that time and also what your representative attempted.

I was in Washington during the first month of the new administration, destined to fill such an unhappy place in history. During this period I saw the President frequently, sometimes at the private house he then occupied, and sometimes at his office in the Treasury. On these occasions the constant topic was "reconstruction," which was considered in every variety of aspect. More than once I ventured to press upon him the duty and the renown of carrying out the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and of founding the new governments in the rebel States on the consent of the governed, without any distinction of color.

To this earnest appeal he replied on one occasion, as I sat with him alone, in words which I can never forget: "On this question, Mr. Sumner, there is no difference between us. You and I are alike." Need I say, that I was touched to the heart by this annunciation, which seemed to promise a victory without a battle. Accustomed to controversy, I saw clearly that if the President declared himself in favor of the Equal Rights of All, the good cause must prevail without controversy. After expressing to him my joy and gratitude, I remarked still further, that it was important that there should be no division in the great Union party—that there should be no line run through it, on one side of which would be gentlemen calling themselves "the President's friends," but that we should be kept all together as one seamless garment. To this he promptly replied: "I mean to keep you all together." Nothing could be better. We were to be kept all together on the principle of Equal Rights. As I walked away from the President that evening, the battle of my life seemed to be ended, while the Republic rose before me, refulgent in the blaze of assured Freedom, an example to the nations.

On another occasion, during the same period, the case of Tennessee was discussed. I expressed the hope most earnestly that the President would use his influence directly for the establishment of impartial suffrage in that State, saying that in this way Tennessee would be put at the head of the returning column and be made an example; in one word, that all the other States would be obliged to dress on Tennessee. The President replied, that if he were at Nashville, he would see that this was accomplished. I could not help rejoining promptly that he need not be at Nashville, for at Washington his hand was on the long end of the lever with which he could easily move all Tennessee, referring of course to the powerful but legitimate influence which he might exercise in his own State by the expression of his desires. Let me confess that his hesitation on this occasion disturbed me; but I attributed it to an unnecessary caution rather than to any infidelity. He had been so positive with me, how could I suspect him?

On other occasions the conversation was renewed. Such was my interest in this question, that I could not see the President without introducing it. As I was about to return home, I said that I desired, even at the risk of repetition, to make some parting suggestions on the reconstruction of the rebel States, and that, with his permission, I would proceed point by point, as was the habit of the pulpit in former days. He smiled and said pleasantly, "Have I not always listened to you?" I replied, "You have, and I am grateful." After remarking that the rebel region was still in military occupation and that it was the plain duty of the President to use his temporary power for the establishment of correct principles, I proceeded to say: First—See to it that no newspaper is allowed which is not thoroughly loyal and does not speak well of the National government and of Equal Rights; and here I reminded him of the saying of the Duke of Wellington, that in a place under martial law, an unlicensed press was as impossible as on the deck of a ship of war. Secondly—Let the officers that you send, as military governors or otherwise, be known for their devotion to Equal Rights, so that their names alone will be a proclamation, while their simple presence will help educate the people; and here I mentioned Maj.-Gen. Carl Schurz, who still held his commission in the army, as such a person. Thirdly—Encourage the population to resume the profitable labors of agriculture, commerce and manufactures without delay; but for the present to avoid politics. Fourthly—Keep the whole rebel region under their good influences, and at the proper time, hand over the subject of reconstruction with the great question of Equal Rights, to the judgment of Congress, where it belongs. All this the President received at the time with perfect kindness, and I mention this with the more readiness because I remember to have seen in the papers a very different statement.

Only a short time afterwards there was a change, which seemed like a summerset or an apostacy, and then ensued a strange sight. Instead of faithful Unionists, recent rebels thronged the Presidential ante-chambers, rejoicing in a new found favor. They made speeches at the President, and he made speeches at them. A mutual sympathy was manifest. On one occasion the President announced himself a "Southern man," with "Southern sympathies," thus quickening that *sectional* flame which good men hoped to see quenched forever. Alas! if after all our terrible sacrifices we are still to have a President who does not know how to spurn every sectional appeal and make himself the representative of all! Unhappily, whatever the President said or did was *sectional.* He showed himself constantly a *sectionalist.* Instead of telling the ex-rebels that thronged the Presidential ante-chambers, as he should have done, that he was their friend; that he wished them well from the bottom of his heart; that he longed to see their fields yield an increase and peace in all their borders, and that, to this end, he counselled them to devote themselves to agriculture, commerce and manufactures, and for the present to say nothing about politics. Instead of this, he sent them away talking and thinking of nothing but politics, and frantic for the re-establishment of a sectional power. Instead of designating officers of the army as military governors, which I supposed he would do, he appointed ex-rebels, who could not take the oath required by Congress of all officers of the United States, and they in turn appointed ex-rebels to office, under them, so that participation in the rebellion found its reward, and treason, instead of being made odious, became a passport to power.

Everywhere ex-rebels came out of their hiding places. They walked the streets defiantly, and asserted their old domination. Under the auspices of the President, a new campaign was planned against the Republic, and they who failed in open war now sought to enter the very citadel of political power. Victory, purchased by so much loyal blood and treasure, was little better than a cipher. Slavery itself revived in the spirit of Caste. Unionists, who had been trampled down by the rebellion, were trampled down still more by these Presidential governments. There was no liberty of the press or liberty of speech, and the lawlessness of slavery began to rage anew.

Every day brought tidings that the rebellion was reappearing in its essential essence. Amidst all professions of submission there was an immitigable hate to the National government, and a prevailing injustice to the freedman. This was last Autumn. I was then in Boston. Moved by a desire to arrest this fatal tendency, I appealed by letter to members of the Cabinet, entreating them to stand firm against a "policy" which promised nothing but disaster. As soon as the elections were over I appealed directly to the President himself, by a telegraphic dispatch, as follows:

BOSTON, 12th Nov., 1865.

To the President of the United States, Washington:

As a faithful friend and supporter of your administration, I most respectfully petition you to suspend for the present your policy towards the rebel States. I should not present this prayer if I were not painfully convinced that thus far it has failed to obtain any reasonable guarantees for that security in the future which is essential to peace and reconciliation. To my mind, it abandons the freedmen to the control of their ancient masters, and leaves the national debt exposed to repudiation by returning rebels. The Declaration of Independence asserts the equality of all men, and that rightful government can be founded only on the consent of the governed. I see small chance of peace unless these great principles are practically established. Without this the house will continue divided against itself.

CHARLES SUMNER,
Senator of the United States.

On reaching Washington Saturday evening, immediately before the opening of the last session of Congress, I lost no time in seeing the President. I was with him that evening three hours. I found him changed in temper and purpose. How unlike that President, who, only a few days after his arrival at power, had made me feel so happy in the assurances of agreement on the great question before the country! He was no longer sympathetic or even kindly, but harsh, petulant and unreasonable. Plainly, his heart was with the ex-rebels. For the Unionists, white or black, who had borne the burthen of the day, he had little feeling. Perversely he would not see the bad spirit of the rebel States, and he insisted that the outrages there were insufficient to justify their exclusion from Congress. It was in this connection that the following dialogue ensued:

The President—"Are there no murders in Massachusetts?" *Mr. S.*—"Unhappily yes; sometimes." *The President*—"Are there no assaults in Boston? Do not men there, sometimes, knock each other down, so that the police is obliged to interfere?" *Mr. S.*—"Unhappily, yes." *The President*—"Would you consent that Massachusetts, on this account, should be excluded from Congress?" *Mr. S.*—"No, Mr. President, I would not." And here I stopped, without remarking on the entire irrelevancy of the inquiry. I left the President that night with the painful conviction that his whole soul was set as flint against the good cause, and that by the assassination of Abraham Lincoln the rebellion had vaulted into the Presidential chair. Jefferson Davis was then in the casemates at Fortress Monroe, but Andrew Johnson was doing his work,

> "Ah! what avails it,
> If the gulled conqueror receives the chain,
> And flattery subdues when arms are vain."

From this time forward I was not in doubt as to his "policy," which asserted a condition of things in the rebel region inconsistent with the terrible truth. It was, therefore, natural that I should characterize one of his messages, covering over the enormities there, as "white-washing." This mild term was thought by some at the time to be too strong. Subsequent events have better shown that it was too weak. The whole rebel region is little better than a "whited sepulchre." It is that saddest of all sepulchres, the sepulchre of Human Rights. The dead men's bones are the remains of faithful Union soldiers, dead on innumerable fields or stifled in the pens of Andersonville and Belle Isle; also of constant Unionists, white and black, whom we are sacredly bound to protect, now murdered on highways and byways, or slaughtered at Memphis and New Orleans. The uncleanness is injustice, wrong and outrage of the most loathsome character. And the President is engaged in "whiting" over these things, so that they shall not be seen by the American people. To do this he has garbled a dispatch of Sheridan and has abused the hospitality of the country by a travelling speech, where every word that was not foolish, vulgar and vindictive, was a vain attempt at "whitewashing."

THE PRESIDENTIAL MADNESS.

Meanwhile the Presidential madness has become more than ever manifest. It has shown itself in frantic efforts to defeat the Constitutional Amendment proposed by Congress for adoption by the people. By this amendment certain safeguards are established. Citizenship is defined, and protection is assured at least in what are called civil rights. The basis of representation is fixed on the number of voters, so that if colored citizens are not allowed to vote they will not by their numbers contribute to representative power, and one voter in South Carolina will not be able to neutralize two voters in Massachusetts or Illinois. Ex-rebels who have taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States are excluded from office, National or State. The National debt is guaranteed, while the rebel debt and all claim for slaves are annulled. But all these essential safeguards are rudely rejected by the President.

The madness that would reject a proposition so essentially just, whose only error is its inadequacy, has broken forth naturally in brutal utterance, where he has charged persons by name with seeking his life, and has stimulated a mob against them. It is difficult to surpass the criminality of this act; but thus far the old Greek epigram has been verified:

> "A viper bit a Cappadocian's hide;
> Envenomed by the bite, the viper died."

Though the persons thus assailed have not yet suffered, the country has. The violence of the President has provoked violence. His words were dragon's teeth, which have already sprung up armed men. Witness Memphis: witness New Orleans. Who can doubt that the President is the author of these tragedies? Charles IX. of France was not more completely the author of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, than Andrew Johnson is the author of those recent massacres which now cry out for judgment. History records that the guilty king was pursued in the silence of night by the imploring voices of murdered men, mingled with curses and imprecations, while their ghosts stalked through his chamber, until he sweated blood from every pore; and when he came to die, his soul wrung with the tortures of remorse, stammered out to his attendant: "Ah! nurse! my good nurse! what blood! what murders! Oh! what bad counsels I followed! Lord God pardon me! have mercy on me!" Like causes produce like effects. The blood at Memphis and New Orleans must cry out until it is heard, and a guilty President may suffer the same retribution which followed a guilty king.

The evil that he has done already is on such a scale that it is impossible to measure it, unless as you measure an ara of the globe. I doubt if in all history there is any ruler, who, in the same brief space of time, has done so much. There have been kings and emperors, proconsuls and satraps, who have exercised a tyrannical power: but the facilities of communication now lend swiftness and extension to all evil influences, so that the President has been able to do in a year what in other days would have taken a life. Nor is the evil that he has done confined to any narrow spot. It is co-extensive with the Republic. Next to Jefferson Davis stands Andrew Johnson, as its worst enemy. The whole has suffered; but it is the rebel region which has suffered the most. He should have sent peace; instead, he sent a sword. Behold the consequences.

In the support of his cruel "policy" the President has not hesitated to use his enormous patronage. President Lincoln said, familiarly, that, as the people had continued him in office, he supposed they meant that others should be continued in office also; and he acted accordingly. He refused to make removals. But President Johnson thinks otherwise, and he announces in public speech that there must be "rotation in office;" and then warming in anger against present incumbents, he says that he will "kick them out." Men appointed by the martyred Lincoln are to be "kicked out" of office by his accidental successor, while pretending to sustain the policy of the martyr. The language of the President is most suggestive. He "kicks" the friends of his well-loved predecessor; and he also "kicks" the careful counsel of that well-loved predecessor, especially insisting that "we must build up from the sound material."

WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE.

And now that I may give practical direction to these remarks, let me tell you plainly what must be done. In the first place, Congress must be sustained in its conflict with the *One-Man Power*, and in the second place, ex-rebels must not be restored to power. Bearing these two things in mind, the way will be easy. Of course the Constitutional Amendment must be adopted. As far as it goes it is well; but it does not go far enough. More must be done. Impartial suffrage must be established. A homestead must be secured to every freedman, if in no other way, through the pardoning power. If to these is added Education, there will be a new order of things, with liberty of the press, liberty of speech and liberty of travel, so that Wendell Phillips may speak freely in Charleston or Mobile. There is an old English play, which goes under the name of the four "Ps." Our present desires may be symbolized by four "Es," standing for *Emancipation, Enfranchisement, Equality and Education.* Let these be secured, and all else will follow.

I can never cease to regret that Congress has hesitated by proper legislation to assume a temporary jurisdiction over the whole rebel region. To my mind the power was ample and unquestionable, whether in the exercise of belligerent rights or in the exercise of rights derived directly from the Constitution itself. In this way everything needful might have been accomplished. In the exercise of this just jurisdiction the rebel communities might have been fashioned anew, and shaped to loyalty and virtue. The President lost a great opportunity at the beginning. Congress has lost another. But it is not too late. If indisposed to assume this jurisdiction by an enabling Act constituting provisional governments, there are many things which Congress may do, acting indirectly or directly. Acting indirectly, it may insist that Emancipation, Enfranchisement, Equality and Education shall be established as a condition precedent to the recognition of any State whose institutions have been overthrown by rebellion. Acting directly, it may, by constitutional amendment or by simple legislation, fix these forever.

IMPARTIAL SUFFRAGE MUST BE SECURED BY THE NATION AND NOT LEFT TO THE STATES.

You are aware that from the beginning I have insisted upon Impartial Sufffrage as the only certain guarantee of security and reconciliation. I renew this persistence and mean to hold on to the end. Every argument, every principle, every sentiment is in its favor. But there is one reason which at this moment I place above all others; it is the *necessity of the case.* You will require the votes of colored persons in the rebel States in order to sustain the Union itself. Without their votes you cannot build securely for the future. Their ballots will be needed in time to come much more than their muskets have been needed in time past. For the sake of the white Unionists in the rebel States and for their protection; for the sake of the Republic itself, whose peace is imperilled, I appeal for justice to the colored race. Give the ballot to the colored citizen, and he will be not only assured in his own rights, but he will be the timely defender of yours. It is by a singular Providence that your security is linked inseparably with the recognition of his rights. Deny him if you will. It is at your peril.

But it is said, leave this question to the States; and State rights are pleaded against the power of Congress. This has been the cry,—at the beginning, to prevent efforts against the rebellion, and now, at the end, to prevent efforts against the revival of the rebellion. Whichsoever way we turn we encounter this cry. But if you yield now, you will commit the very error of Buchanan, when at the beginning he declared that we could not "coerce" a State. Nobody doubts now that a State in rebellion may be "coerced;" and to my mind it is equally clear that a State just emerging from rebellion may be "coerced" to that condition which is required by the public peace.

But there are powers of Congress not derived from the rebellion, which are adequate to this exigency, and now is the time to exercise them and thus complete the work that has been begun. It was the nation that decreed Emancipation, and the nation must see to it, by every obligation of honor and justice, that Emancipation is secured. It is not enough that slavery is abolished in name. The Baltimore platform, on which President Johnson was elected, requires "the utter and complete *extirpation* of slavery from the soil of the Republic;" but this can be accomplished only by the eradication of every inequality and caste, so that all shall be equal before the law.

Be taught by Russia. The Emperor there did not content himself with a naked Proclamation of Emancipation. He followed this glorious act with minute provisions securing to the freedmen rights of all kinds, as to hold property, to sue and testify in court, *to vote* and *to enjoy the advantages of education.* All this was secured by the same power which decreed emancipation.

Be taught also by England, speaking by her most illustrious statesmen, who solemnly warn us against trusting to any local authorities for justice to the colored race. I begin with Burke, who saw all questions with the intuitions of a statesman and expressed himself with the eloquence of the orator. Here are his words uttered in 1792:

"I have seen what the colonial legislatures have done in reference to the improvement of the condition of the negro. It is arrant trifling. They have done little, and that little is good for nothing, *because it does not carry with it the executory principle.*"

Should we leave this question to the States we should find that all they did would be "arrant trifling," and that it would want "the executory principle."

This testimony of Edmund Burke was followed shortly afterwards by that of Canning, who in 1799 exclaimed:

"There is something in the relation between the despot and his slave, which must vitiate and render nugatory and null whatever laws the former might make for the benefit of the latter; which, however speciously these laws might be framed, however well adapted they might appear to the evils which they were intended to alleviate, must infallibly be marred and defeated in the execution."

Then

its own provisions in favor of the objects of its power."—*Canning's Speeches, vol. 1, pp. 193, 194.*

The same testimony was given at a later day by Brougham, who, in one of his most remarkable speeches, while protesting against leaving to the colonies legislation for the freedmen, expressed himself as follows:

"I entirely concur in the observations of Mr. Burke, repeated and more happily expressed by Mr. Canning, that the masters of slaves are not to be trusted with making laws upon slavery; that nothing they do is ever found effectual; and that if by some miracle they ever chance to enact a wholesome regulation, it is always found to want what Mr. Burke calls *the executory principle*: it fails to execute itself."—*Brougham's Speeches, vol. 2. p. 219.*

Such is the concurring testimony of these three statesmen-orators, whose eloquent voices unite to warn us against trusting the freedmen to their old masters.

Reason is in harmony with the authoritative testimony. "Surely, it is not natural to suppose that people, who have claimed property in their fellow-man—who have indulged that "wild and guilty phantasy that man can hold property in man"—will become at once the kind and just legislators of freedmen. It is contrary to nature to expect it. Even if they have made up their minds to emancipation, they are, from inveterate habit and prejudice, incapable of doing justice to the colored race. There is the President himself, who once charmed the country and the age by announcing himself as the "Moses" of their redemption; and yet he is now exerting all his mighty power against the establishment of those safeguards without which there can be no true redemption. In the discussions of the day the old pro-slavery spirit that was in him, with its hostility to principles and to men, comes out anew, as when on the application of heat the old tunes frozen up in the bugle of Baron Munchausen were set a-going, and broke forth as freshly as when the bugle sounded before. People do not change suddenly or completely. The old devils are not all cast out at once. Even the best of converts sometimes backslide. It is recorded by so grave a writer as Southey, in his history of Brazil, that a venerable woman, accustomed to consider human flesh as an exquisite dainty, was converted to Christianity while in extreme old age. The faithful missionaries strove at once to minister to her wants, and asked her if there was any kind of food which she needed. To all which the venerable convert replied: "My stomach goes against everything; there is but one thing which I fancy I could touch; if I had the little hand of a little tender boy, I think I could pick the bones; but woe is me! there is no one to go out and shoot one for me!" In similar spirit our Presidential convert now yearns for a taste of those odious pretensions which were a part of slavery.

Now when a person thus situated, with great responsibilities to his country and to history, bound by public professions and by political associations—who has declared himself against slavery and has every motive of perseverance to the end—when such a person openly seeks to preserve some of its odious pretensions, are we not admonished again how unsafe it would be to trust those masters, who are under no responsibility and have given no pledges, with the power of legislating for freedmen? I protest against it.

I claim this power for the nation. If it be said that the power has never been exercised, then, I say, that the time has come when it sould be exercised. I claim it on at least three several grounds.

(1.) There is the Constitutional Amendment, already adopted by the people, which invests Congress with plenary powers to secure the abolition of slavery—aye, its *extirpation*, according to the promise of the Baltimore platform—including the right to sue and testify in court, and the right also to vote. The distinction that has been attempted between what are called *civil* rights and *political* rights is a modern invention. These two words, "civil" and "political," in their origin have the same meaning. One is derived from the Latin and the other from the Greek. Each signifies that which pertains to a *city* or *citizen*. Besides, if the elective franchise seem "appropriate" to assure the "extirpation" of slavery, Congress has the same power to secure this right which it has to secure the right to sue and testify in courts, which it has already done. Every argument, every reason, every consideration by which you assert the power for the protection of colored persons in what are called their *civil* rights, is equally strong for their protection in what are called their *politic l* rights. In each case you legislate to the same end, that the freedman may be maintained in that liberty which has so tardily been accorded to him, and the legislation is just as "appropriate" in one case as in the other.

(2.) There is also that distinct clause of the Constitution, requiring the United States "to guarantee to every State in the Union a *republican form of government.*" Here is a source of power as yet unused. The time has come for its use. Let it be declared, that a State which disfranchises any portion of its citizens by a discrimination in its nature insurmountable, as in the case of color, cannot be considered a republican government. The principle is obvious, and its practical adoption would ennoble the country and give to mankind a new definition of republican government.

(3.) But there is another reason which is with me peremptory. There is no discrimination of color in the allegiance which you require. Colored citizens, like white citizens, owe allegiance to the United States; therefore, they may claim protection as an equivalent. In other words, allegiance and protection must be reciprocal. As you claim allegiance of colored persons, you must accord protection. One is the consideration of the other. And this protection must be in all the rights of citizens, civil and political. Thus again do I bring home to the National government this solemn duty. If this has not been performed in time past, it has been on account of the tyrannical influence of slavery, which perverted our government. But, thank God! that influence has been overthrown. Vain are the victories of the war, if this influence continues to tyrannize over the National government. Formerly the Constitution was interpreted always for slavery. I insist that, from this time forward, it shall be interpreted always for Freedom. This is one of the great victories of the war, or rather it is the crowning result of all the victories.

One of the most important battles in the world's history was that of Tours, in France, where the Mohammedans, who had come from Spain, for three days contended against the Christians under Charles Martel. On this battle Gibbon remarks, that, had the result been different, "perhaps the interpretation of the Koran would now be taught in the schools of Oxford, and her pulpits might demonstrate the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Mahomet." Thus was Christianity saved, and thus has Liberty been saved by our victories. Had the rebels prevailed, slavery would have had voices everywhere, and even in the Constitution itself. But it is liberty now that must have voices everywhere, and the greatest voice of all in the national Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof.

In this cause I cannot be frightened by words. There is a cry against "centralization," "consolidation," "imperialism," all of which are bad enough when dedicated to any purpose of tyranny. As the House of Representatives is renewed every two years, it is inconceivable to suppose that such a body, fresh from the people and about to return to the people, can become a tyranny, especially when it seeks safeguards for human rights. A government, inspired by liberty, is as wide apart from tyranny as heaven from hell. There can be no danger in liberty assured by central authority; nor can there be any danger in any powers to uphold liberty. Such a centralization, such a consolidation—aye, sir, such an imperialism would be to the whole country a well-spring of security, prosperity and renown. To find danger in it is to find danger in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution itself, which speak with central power; it is to find danger in those central laws which govern the moral and material world, binding them together in society and keeping the planets wheeling in their spheres.

Often during the war the cause of our country seemed to appear in three different forms, each essential in itself and yet together constituting one unit. It was like the shamrock or white clover, with its triple leaf, originally used to illustrate the Trinity. It was Three in One. These three different forms were first, the national forces; secondly, the national finances; and thirdly, the ideas which entered into the controversy. The national forces and the national finances have prevailed. The ideas are still in question, and even now you debate with regard to the *rights of citizenship.*

Nobody doubts that the army and navy fall plainly within the jurisdiction of the National government, and that the finances fall plainly within the jurisdiction of the National government; but the rights of citizenship are as thoroughly national as the army and navy or the finances. Obviously, you cannot without peril cease to regulate the finances; but there is equal peril in abandoning the rights of citizens, who, wherever they may be, or in whatever State, are entitled to protection from the Nation—"the very least as feeling her care and the greatest as not exempted from her power." An American citizen in a foreign land enjoys the protecting hand of the National government. He should not enjoy that protecting hand less at home than abroad.

OUR PRESENT DUTY.

Fellow-Citizens: As I am about to close, allow me to gather the whole case into a brief compass. The President, wielding the *One-Man Power*, has assumed a prerogative over Congress utterly unjustifiable, and has undertaken to dictate a fatal "policy" of reconstruction, which gives sway to rebels, puts off the blessed day of security and reconciliation, and leaves the best interests of the Republic in jeopardy. Treacherous to party—treacherous to the great cause—and treacherous to himself, he has set up his individual will against the people of the United States in Congress assembled. Forgetful of truth and decency, he has assailed members as "assassins," and has denounced Congress itself as "a revolutionary body, called or assuming to be Congress," and "hanging on the verge of government;" as if this most enlightened and patriotic Congress did not contain the embodied will of the American people. To you, each and all, I appeal to arrest this madness. Your votes will be the first step. The President must be taught that usurpation and apostacy cannot prevail. He who promised to be Moses, and has become Pharaoh, must be overthrown, and the Egyptians that follow him must share the same fate, so that it shall be said now as aforetime, "And the Lord overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1866.

GOVERNMENTAL GODLINESS.

After the Emancipation proclamation had been issued, and until within a few months, the tone of the religious press upon the subject of the negro's welfare, was, as compared with previous years, much improved. This was also true of the resolutions of various representative denominational organizations. Emancipation was welcomed, and prior to President Johnson's defection, full enfranchisement for the negro was, in many cases, advocated. All that should have been was not done, but the tendency was healthful and encouraging. Of the duty of the religious bodies of this country to espouse foremost and heartily the cause of the negro, who has fallen literally "among thieves," there is no doubt. This duty was plain in years past during the struggle for abolition. There were noble examples of individual fidelity, and a few minor organizations made commendable efforts to secure emancipation. It is historically true, however, that prior to military emancipation the dominant church influence of the country was wielded for the overthrow of Abolitionism rather than of slavery. Though long ostracised and denounced as Abolitionists, we were not disturbed by the self-complacency and assurance of clergymen who, as the struggle culminated, with new born zeal, glorified emancipation, and declared what "great things we have accomplished." We were heartily glad of their eleventh hour "military necessity" conversion, and hoped they would continue to run well. But new trials are upon the nation, and churches and clergymen are again unpleasantly confronted by the negro, as a test of the strength and genuineness of their devotion to justice and the fundamental elements of the Christian code. The zeal of a few months ago is much abated. Politicians, the poor timber out of which most churches are necessarily constructed, have, between President and Congress, become sadly mixed and entangled. The negro, having been *used* in the hour of need, has been cast aside by both President and Congress as no longer serviceable, and therefore of but secondary, if of any, account. This is a foolish and criminal expedient for even mere politicians, as they will yet have occasion to see and acknowledge. Such recreancy was fruitful in disappointment and suffering in the past,—it will yield the same now.

How does this state of things affect what we have hitherto denominated collectively the American church? We are not unmindful of the efforts which have been instituted by most, if not all, of the sects, to temporarily contribute food and clothing, and to promote education among the freedmen. We are grateful for these efforts and would not write a line to discourage them. They are not unmixed with a spirit of proselytism, but in the rivalry of the sects to bring fish to their respective nets we are not anxious as to which shall get most. Food, raiment and education are necessary. But we hold that it is of primary importance that added unto these should be the ballot. This alone can change the condition of the freedmen to that of freemen. The ballot is due to them as a right of which they are defrauded. It is due from the nation as an act of justice and duty. This fundamental need of the freedmen is lately very much neglected or altogether ignored, by the chief religious bodies, North and South. The religious newspapers which come under our notice are singularly silent upon the subject as compared with a few months ago.

Church and State in this country are supposed to be disconnected, but the connection is after all close and sympathetic. The defection of the President, followed by the retrogression of Congress, marks the date and extent of the altered attitude of the popular representatives of the church upon the question of suffrage for the negro. The following resolution, adopted by a Wisconsin Conference of Methodists, illustrates our view: "Resolved, That we are signally blessed in the integrity and firmness of a loyal Congress, *which will not betray the interests of any portion of the people*, and especially in the passing and submitting to the States those amendments to our Constitution which shall restore its consistency, and recognize and secure the freedom and *civil* rights of every citizen." Congress has betrayed the interests of four millions of the people hitherto enslaved, by withholding the political rights which it was bound to guarantee to them. Yet these Wisconsin Methodists a few months ago, before the Congressional "plan," had been announced, would undoubtedly have declared for political as well as civil rights. Their resolution is false in fact, and in itself is an unscrupulous betrayal of the rights and interests of the oppressed. To realize the truth of this they have but to step into the shoes of the disarmed and disfranchised blacks. Their godliness is of the governmental rather than the Christian type. While the government held interference with slavery to be unconstitutional and forbidden, the great body of the church denounced the Abolitionists and refused to meddle with the "peculiar institution" for its overthrow.

Now as we return from the era of military necessity to backhanded political diplomacy, the old-time subserviency to political rather than Christian leadership is again apparent. The noncommittal resolutions upon national affairs, recently adopted by the American Board, are an additional illustration of the truthfulness of our view. The N. Y. *Independent* fitly says of them: "We cannot see any reason why they were adopted. They are in such general terms that they practically mean nothing. The first resolution prays for God's blessing on the nation; the second, for the conversion of the American people; the third, for the education of the African race; these three say-nothing resolutions are all." We do not intend our impeachment to be wholesale. The following resolution, from a series adopted by the United States General Convention of Universalists, has the right tone: "Resolved, That no policy of reconstruction can meet with our approval which does not embrace impartial suffrage." The *Independent* contrasts this resolution with those of the American Board, and says truly, "there is more Christianity in these three lines from a heterodox body than in the entire series of their orthodox rivals." The Reformed Presbyterians, and others of the minor denominations, not necessary to designate, who used to be most anti-slavery, are now most outspoken for impartial suffrage.

We doubt not that a large portion of the membership of the popular orthodox churches even would be glad to have impartial suffrage guaranteed by Congress as a basis of adjustment in national reconstruction. Our criticism on the latter is that, forgetting or ignoring their high standard of Christian profession, they consent to leave the destiny of God's poorest and most forlorn children at the disposal of expediency-politicians, and to follow in such a leadership. Mr. Beecher's Johnsonianism, which has so shocked and grieved multitudes of those who had trusted and looked up to him, is only the full-blown flower of the error of many well-meaning clergymen who are to-day silent in their pulpits on the subject of impartial suffrage, or are openly endorsing and supporting the dishonest and unjust amendment "plan" of reconstruction. If the negro is longer defrauded of his rights and the nation baulked in its desire for a just settlement, much of the sin will lie at the door of these blind guides of the sects, who, for fancied gain in mere denominational interests, fail to plead for justice and to announce the truth in this period of peril and need.

THE NEW ORLEANS MASSACRE.

The report of the Military Commission, appointed to examine the history of this affair, has been published. It is but a more direct, explicit, and authoritative statement of the facts already reported in our recital, printed at the time, and of the opinions expressed by Gen. Sheridan and by the loyal press on that subject. Its value consists in its being based entirely on sworn testimony—all that could be procured—from all sides, carefully sifted and reviewed as to its relative credibility and weight by a non-partisan board of trustworthy U. S. Army officers; so that its conclusions may be relied on as correct to the last attainable degree.

Among these conclusions are: That several organizations of "ex-rebels" had been either especially formed for this work of slaughter, or expressly commissioned to do it, after their formation. That this conspiracy was a long-matured and cautiously-prepared one—the assembling of the Convention being its anxiously-sought opportunity merely. That there was among the negroes or Conventionists no conspiracy or secret armed organization. That but two or three among the entire mass of the attacked loyalists were armed, or in any wise prepared for violence. That the attacks—each and every one—proceeded from the rebel conspirators, without any provocation from the loyal side. That there was no intention to *arrest* the Convention—but merely to kill—on part of the attacking party. That the treatment of those victims who were arrested and, in their wounded condition, imprisoned, by the rebel conspirators, was of the most inhuman known—both as regards neglect and intentional maltreatment. That, but for the intervention of the military, the work of burning and slaughter would have continued in the city until the *extermination* of loyalists had been, as nearly as possible, accomplished. That, *in all this*, the machinery of the civil government of the city was used officially to carry out the purpose of the conspirators. That it was so used with the full knowledge, by the civil authorities, of the scope and details of the plot, and with their entire sympathy and hearty co-operation toward that end. That, by wilfully false statements and false promises before the massacre, these authorities attempted, with partial success, to deceive the military officers as to the state of the case. That they did so with the intent of protecting the rebel work of murder from interruption by the military. That, after the massacre, in their testimony before the Commission, they deliberately perjured themselves in order to throw blame from their side to that of the loyalists. And, lastly, that *the spirit which prompted these atrocities, embodied in the same personal and official shapes as on the 30th of July, still holds complete and unquestioned sway* in the city of New Orleans and a large part of the State of Louisiana—restricted from fresh outbreak only by the military occupation under a loyal Union General.

Directly, the awful burden of blood is laid on the shoulders of the cannibal civil authorities of New Orleans and Louisiana; by implication, it is laid, further, on the shoulders of the President of the United States, by whose consent, advice and dictation, in part, those authorities acted; by inference, still further, it is laid on the shoulders of a tardy Congress, whose dereliction of their plain duty in legislation alone permitted, enabled and encouraged a malignant President to do his deeds of usurpation, treason and massacre.

Mr. Sumner's able and comprehensive address, which we print in full this week, has already been widely circulated and has awakened unusual interest.

We think he should have recognized not only that "whitewashing" did not go far enough a year ago, but that "impeachment" has become absolutely necessary now, for the honor and safety of the nation. To hold up the hands of Congress for it to re-enact or perpetuate the make-shifts of the last session is not enough. Mr. Sumner believes the present pretended governments of the rebellious States to be fruits of Presidential usurpation. We think he should have more clearly indicated the way to effectually undo both the usurper and his works. Mr. Sumner's account of his personal relations with the President will be read with peculiar interest. His plea for impartial suffrage is timely and important.

Gen. Butler has spoken very freely of the question of impeachment at the West during the past week. We are unable to give his remarks, and the varied comments of the press, which we had prepared for this number, but shall present them in our next. This subject, as lately introduced by Mr. Phillips in these columns, and since spoken of by the *Independent* and Gen. Butler, is attracting very general notice. With a reinforced Republican Congress, there is no reason why the country should continue long to be endangered and dishonored by the present usurping Presidential incumbent.

We print in another column a card from Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton to the electors of the Eighth (New York) Congressional District, announcing herself as an independent candidate for the Fortieth Congress. We believe this is the first instance in which a woman has sought an election to the responsible post of member of Congress. There is at present nothing in the Federal Constitution to render a woman ineligible to the office of Representative if the electors of the district choose to be thus represented. It is a question of personal fitness and soundness of principles. As will be seen from her card, Mrs. Stanton's political creed is broadly democratic. Her known interest in the political welfare of the nation, her marked ability, and unspotted personal integrity, eminently qualify her for the post. The electors of the Eighth District would honor themselves and do well by the country in giving her a triumphant election.

The Election returns to-day (Wednesday) indicate clearly that the Republican strength continues undiminished in the aggregate in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Iowa and Indiana. The majorities are certainly decisive, with some Republican gains. This victory at the polls yesterday extends the opportunity of the dominant party to serve the country nobly and well. May it not be wasted or misimproved as hitherto!

We present in another column brief comments from our leading daily journals, as indicative of the tone of public feeling.

Wendell Phillips will deliver a lecture at the Cooper Institute in this city on Thursday evening, Oct. 25th. His subject will be—"The Treachery of the Republican Party."

PERSONAL.

Rev. Dr. Cheever delivered a very able and searching discourse on National Affairs at the Church of the Puritans on Sunday evening last. He was listened to with marked attention by a large audience.

Frederick Douglass, we understand, is expected to attend and address the State Convention of colored men to be held in Albany on Tuesday next, the 16th inst.

Louis Agassiz, in compliance with the invitation of Gov. Bullock, Mayor Lincoln, Senator Sumner, and others, has consented to deliver two lectures, under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association in Boston, in which he will speak of "The Natural Features of the Amazon Basin."

Rev. Henry Ward Beecher will speak in the Academy of Music, Brooklyn, on Monday evening of next week, making an argument and appeal, from his own ground, in favor of the Republican party in the pending elections. He will also speak afterward, in other places in the state, in support of the Republican candidates.

Bayard Taylor has returned from his trip over the plains, and across the Rocky Mountains, though his vivid letters describing the tour, are still appearing in the *Tribune*. He is now at his country seat near Kennett Squaare, translating "Faust." Mrs. Taylor, an accomplished German scholar, lends her aid.

Hon. Gerrit Smith says, in a private note just received: "I think that Mr. Phillips could do a great work in Congress. I was entirely alone in Congress: he would have a party to work with. He would not be as much lied about as I was. No one took so large a part in the debates as I did, and yet the press made the country believe that I spent my time in sleeping and in feasting with the slaveholders. No one in Congress was ever as radical as I, and yet the charge of apostacy was fastened upon me."

Hon. Richard H. Dana, Jr., returned to Boston from his short visit to Europe on last Friday, resigned his office of United States District Attorney for Massachusetts on Saturday, and made a speech to the Republicans of Cambridge on Monday. It is mortifying to reflect that we have a President, elected by republican votes, who has behaved so scandalously that so distinguished a Republican as Mr. Dana cannot, with relf-respect, consent to retain under him an office for which he is universally admitted to have such pre-eminent qualifications.—*Transcript.*

Rev. W. M. Twine, of Atchinson, Kansas, is now in this city. He is a preacher, and a teacher of the freedmen who have largely congregated in and about Atchison, and comes East to solicit aid to build a church and school-house—the site having already been donated. Mr. Twine is highly spoken of in the Kansas journals and endorsed by Senator Pomeroy and other well known citizens. He is a reader of The Standard and has interested himself to increase its circulation in that locality. We trust he may find liberal encouragement while on his mission, and return to his people equipped for a still more extended field of usefulness. He may be addressed at 33 Broad street for a week or two.

Anna E. Dickinson lectured in this city at the Cooper Institute on Tuesday evening, the 9th inst., to a large audience. Her subject was "the Rejected Stone." It was a most eloquent and effective plea for justice as the only proper basis of Reconstruction.

After the close of the lecture, Mr. Tilton, being loudly called for, made some impressive remarks about the *danger of victory*—the danger of complacent moods, inclining to postpone, instead of deciding, issues now pending. He pointed to the Republican election victories, and to the retrogression of the Republican party from the glorious position of the Southern Loyalists at Philadelphia, and cautioned the people against allowing the impression to gain strength, that those victories bind the party to their National Committee's worthless platform.

Our Boston Correspondence.

Boston, October 8th, 1866.

The ninth series of the Parker Fraternity Lectures opened last Tuesday evening with its customary large and brilliant attendance. If the material of the audience differed in any respect from that of former years, it was in having a larger proportion of the people called by Daniel Webster "the solid men of Boston;" a fact which gives comfortable assurance of the growing intelligence of that class. They rejoice, now, to hear Charles Sumner speak, and they applaud most heartily the strongest things that he says, whether of criticism on the present or preparation for the future. Such a list of lecturers as the managers present would of course secure the success of the present season, comprising as it does the highest talent, eloquence and wisdom of the country, with a representation of both sexes and both races. Not only was the spacious Music Hall *filled* with people sitting and standing, but a greater space than ever before was required for reserved seats for the season. And so great was the eagerness to hear such a man speak on such a subject, that half the places not reserved were filled in ten minutes after the opening of the doors, an hour before the lecture was to commence.

Mr. Sumner's subject was "The One-Man Power vs. Congress," and he spoke eloquently nearly two hours upon this theme, holding his audience in fixed attention, and frequently calling forth hearty applause.

I am glad that your readers are to have this vigorous speech in full. It appears from it that Mr. Sumner used faithfully such opportunities as he had with the President, holding extended conversations with him both before and after his change of policy. When the lecturer, describing the greatness of this change, and the gross misrepresentation of facts offered to the public in defence of it, made reference to the fact that his own characterization of a Presidential Message as "whitewashing" had proved to be too weak rather than too strong, a vehement burst of applause showed what the audience thought of that matter.

The damaging effect of this lecture upon the President and his party is seen in the agonized fluttering of the party organs. The *Post*, which always prefers to laugh while it can, finds this matter too serious for jesting, and declares that Mr. Sumner's first election to Congress has occasioned one very prominent illustration of the "One-Man Power." And a correspondent of that paper writes a serious letter to Mr. Sumner, saying—"The impression is very strong on my mind that you have misapprehended the position of the President." These people feel that their leader has overshot the mark, and is in danger of losing the power which they hoped to share with him. And it must be admitted that their fears are not without reason.

Indeed, nothing could have prepared the nation so well for the plain speaking needed in the coming campaign as the President's exhibitions of his real character in his late electioneering journey. The question is no longer whether dignity and sobriety are indispensable to a President of the United States, but whether he can safely combine vulgar buffoonery with maladministration. Johnson has really, in one respect, "sunk lower than Buchanan." He is constantly offering new situations to the dealers in burlesque and caricature. His late tour has truly been, as Nasby and the comic papers represent it, an ovation for Grant and Farragut, instead of an opportunity for such honors as the people would gladly show to a suitable chief magistrate. His impudent claim of resemblance to the Saviour has no foundation but his invitation to the Prodigal son to return without repentance, and his reply to the remonstrances of loyalists—"Suffer the rebels to come unto me, and forbid them not." It was bad enough to leave the part of Moses and undertake the majestic despotism of Pharaoh; but this part proves too great for Mr. Johnson's powers, and he now appears, in relation to the negro, rather as the brutal pedagogue Squeers, arresting Smike in the streets of London, and gloating over the re-establishment of the old tyranny.

An incidental benefit of this ill-planned journey of the President is that it has made the arch-plotter, Seward, ridiculous, having called out this ingenious variation of one of Mother Goose's melodies:

Says Aaron to Moses
Let's cut off our noses.
And they went out West
And did it.

I had hoped that Mr. Sumner, while treating of the One-Man Power, would have said something to satisfy the public curiosity as to the method by which impeachment of the President might be carried out, and as to the constitutional method of providing an incumbent for the Presidential chair in case of the present occupant being arrested and held for trial. Nothing was said, however, upon those subjects. Mr. Sumner seemed entirely satisfied with the present Congress, and appeared to wish only that its majority might be increased by the addition of persons of the same sort. The belief, however, seems spreading among the people that stronger measures will be necessary, and that the best possible Congress would find its ordinary course of action insufficient against a President disposed to usurpation, unscrupulous as to the means of success, and backed by people so little restrained by decency and morality as our rebels and copperheads. How long is the President to go on without interference, carrying out by Executive force his usurpation of the Legislative function?

A memoir has just been published of Deacon Timothy Gilbert, long known in Boston as a manufacturer of piano-fortes, an ardent disciple of the Baptist faith, and an active engineer on the underground railroad. He had long given active and most efficient aid to fugitive slaves, giving them employment when that could be done, and at other times sheltering them, sometimes in his dwelling-house, sometimes in his extensive manufactory, according to circumstances, while on their passage through Boston to a land of liberty. For work of this sort he was always ready. And when, in 1850, the Fugitive Slave bill was passed, he wrote to one of the Boston papers, stigmatizing this law as infamous, and offering his premises (2 Beach street) as a refuge to the fugitive, in spite of it.

Deacon Gilbert was a sedate, Quakerish-looking man, a friend of order, a lover of peace and quietness. But no man felt a sterner spirit of opposition to tyranny against the weak; and the slave-catchers of that time well understood that personal peril was to be encountered in any attempt to enter his premises for execution of the Fugitive Slave law. His house, like Francis Jackson's, might be pulled down; but while it stood, it stood to maintain and exemplify the law of liberty.

Among the signs of the present course and active movement of public opinion may be mentioned the drawing of a well-known colored citizen of Boston as a juror in the present term of the Superior Court for the county of Suffolk. North.—

Philadelphia Correspondence.

Philadelphia, Oct. 7th, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

The great political contest draws to a close. It has been called the last conflict of the war. But those who thus speak of it, have an undoubted assurance in the overthrow of the President's policy, else they would not term it the last great battle. Even that much of a victory is far from being final. The thrusting aside of a huge obstacle in the pathway of political progress does not insure an ultimate triumph. A mighty error may be denounced to-day, a great blunder may be repudiated, the enemies of justice and of right may be scorned and rebuked, but the good fight does not end here. There will be many a strife before we shall see truth in all its power triumphant, and justice in all its force and wide-embracing application victorious.

We had much speaking here last week. One would suppose that the populace would grow weary and become surfeited with the continual flow of speech. But to the last there was no abatement of interest. Each night of the week our beautiful Academy of Music overflowed with numbers, and prominent among the speakers I recall the names of Daniel Dougherty, Hannibal Hamlin, Galusha A. Grow, Horace Greeley, Anna E. Dickinson, Gov. Hawley, John W. Forney. There were others besides these, and other meetings besides the remarkable series held in the Academy. These were instituted by the Union League of this city, which has accomplished throughout the campaign such wonderful, varied and effective service.

In all these meetings, in all this speaking, as has before been observed, the most radical enunciations, the most advanced opinions, the most progressive indications of thought have invariably received the highest tokens of approbation. The responses with which they are always greeted, the enthusiasm which they always awaken, the spontaneous outbursts of satisfaction which they call forth, clearly illustrate the growth and tendency of the popular mind. Such a palpable fact should be a sufficient lesson to old fogies who insist upon rehearsing stale harangues, and whose speeches seem more like having been dug up out of the rubbish of ten years ago, than the living creations of the present hour, inspired by the new thoughts and fresh genius of our time. Fortunately there were but few, very few of these occasions where the speakers seemed to forget or ignore the urgent needs and vital remedies of the issue, or where indifferent attention was given to the essential demands made in behalf of impartial justice and equal rights.

In the variety of speaking there was something adapted to every variety of taste. To say that much new thought or unfamiliar fact was presented, in a field so thoroughly explored and by so many colaborers, would be making too broad an assertion. Every important fact has been again and again reiterated, every phase of each question has been repeatedly examined. How much information has been imparted to our people. How well they know what they have been taught, and with what a clear light they are guided as they go forth to give their influence at the ballot-box. Verily, these political contests are a means of disseminating among the people at large a rich and varied and exuberant fund of information, which has a value apart from its immediate purpose, a wholesome and beneficent worth. Daily the seed has been sown for future good harvests, and men's minds, whether they are aware of it or not, are becoming gradually adapted for the reception of new truth, and the bloom of yet more beautiful realities in the realm of common practice.

Among all the addresses of the week, embracing Mr. Greeley's calm, dignified and philosophic effort; Mr. Hamlin's heavy blows and solid sentences; Mr. Dougherty's flaming, stirring, rapturous appeals; none made a deeper or better impression than the shining and radiant words of Miss Dickinson. She had her accustomed triumph. I might say that her address was too long, and some abbreviation would have enhanced its merit without impairing its force. But her vast audience were better for having heard it, and they could not fail to have been kindled into admiration by her brilliancy, and thrilled with fervor by her glowing eloquence. A happy and pleasing circumstance was the introduction of Miss Dickinson by Mr. Robert Purvis, who said in his remarks that the "eloquent lecturer presented herself, as in the beginning of her illustrious career, the firm, steadfast, unwavering friend of an oppressed race, and an able advocate of that enlightened Christian principle that recognizes the sacred manhood, under the protection of equal laws and in the enjoyment of equal rights, of all men." W.

One of the most painful tasks that could be given to Mr. Beecher would be the careful reading of his own sermons. How shocked he would be to find in the volume for 1864 such passages as these:

"*Any party that permits peace to come until they have set God's signet of indignation on this infamous war and infamous treason, will themselves be guilty of that war and that treason.* And when peace is made we mean that all nations shall understand how hateful, unjust rebellion is, and how despicable on earth among men, *and in hell among the damned*, are those who turmoil a nation with blood and revolution. *Now* you can do what *once* you could not have done. Once you would have sacrificed the Constitution if you had meddled with the loyal institutions of the States, but when by their own act *the States have put themselves beyond the pale of the Constitution and its privileges*, and broken it, and we are obliged to go in with the hand of authority and penalty, then we *can* do and *must* do, and *it is a crime not to do* what ten years ago it would have ben a crime to Lave done."

In comparing his recent letters with these bold words, who will not feel sad at heart to think how easily the preacher has forgotten his own preaching!

LETTER FROM [redacted] F. PUTNAM.

Little Compton, R. I., September, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

Rhode Island is a little sovereign, but her realm is very fair to view from any shore of her bright Narragansett Bay.

It must have been the desire or the right to possess wholly this lovely pearl of waters that gives her three towns on the eastern shore of the East Channel of the Bay—Bristol, Tiverton and Little Compton. It puzzles young geographers to put the boundary over into what seems so clearly a part of Massachusetts. Little Compton is the last town next the sea, and has the ocean on one side and the bay on the other.

We wanted to know where the *great* Compton was, but were only left to guess it was *Collumpton*, in Devonshire, England, joining the Tiverton of the Mother Land.

The new crimson-cushioned coach brought us nicely eleven miles from Tiverton, and set us down at an angle of the road for a walk of two miles to Geo. S. Burleigh's door. The scarlet pimpernels greeted us in the grass with their full-blown prophecy of fine weather, a sea-side token we last enjoyed on Cape Cod six years ago. Is not this little flower the *poor man's weather-glass*, colonized, too, from England with the dandelions and ox-eye daisies? But it don't seem to like straying as far as the others from Plymouth Rock.

We look about on the wind-mills; the low, shingle-covered houses, nestled close to thick-planted orchard trees; the yards matted with fine, soft, emerald grass, that only thrives on sea air and moisture, and realize we have reached a true sea-side vicinity. How pleasant a one, we begin to know more fully when Mrs. Burleigh meets us at her cottage door with a sweet, sincere welcome. Our poet fisherman takes us out in his boat to fish up tautog (black-fish) from their haunts among the sea-weedy ledges twenty feet below. We each have two hooks baited with small crabs that bear a curious mark of a crown on their backs.

Next day we go on a queer hunt for these crabs, and find them hiding, at low tide, among pools and stones slippery with rock weed. We see barnacles at work with their delicate, plumy feelers. This graceful, wavy motion is to grasp an infinitesimal subsistance from the sea water, as we were enlightened.

This is on the Bay side of Little Compton. The Common, where the meeting-houses are, and the post-office, and the burying-ground (a daughter of Priscilla Alden, familiar to readers of Miles Standish, lies buried there), is two miles off on one side, and Sekonnet Point, with its view of the Atlantic Ocean and surf bathing, as far on the other side of us. We take our way to the Point, through gates and queer lanes, by houses sheltered from the sea winds in little groves of the tallow tree, that grows with so many trunks as to suggest the banyan [redacted] tures.

The ocean roars but gently for us, rolling up its surf and spreading it out in exquisite lace-pattern borders along the hard, sandy beach, dashing now and then a wave into pretty spray against the jutting rocks.

But to get sight of Little Compton at its loveliest, we must be on Sunset Rock at the hour of its name. Then only do we see what a true Land's End it is. Common, Point, Ocean, Bay, Rhode Island, blue sky and green fields lie all about us in a series of panoramic views as we turn from one to the other. The last heavy load of wet sea-weed is being drawn up from the beach for the night by stout oxen, and the farmers are quitting their work of cutting and stacking the tall corn, for this is the richest land of all the country round, and the sea-weed is carted and spread over it for the next year's crop.

We stay to see the insufferably bright, dazzling going down of the sun exactly behind the Ocean House at Newport. The moon shines in the east, and the evening star comes out serene and still over the Bay. The coast lights begin their beacon fires around, six of them—that of Point Judith, at the southwest bound of the bay, and the famous Fresnel Light on Gay Head, Martha's Vineyard, away to the southeast, are farthest.

These tell of the care of a great civilized government for its sea-faring citizens, and also of the lonely people whose business it is to polish with rouge and chamois leather the lenses of these clear-flaming lamps, hung up to cheer and guide the anxious eyes that sail on through the night-watches of storm or calm.

The old, silvered reflectors have, since 1852, been superseded by the Fresnel lenses. The United States have more than five hundred in use in the lighthouses.

Several small sail dot the bay, and we look across the tranquil waters to Newport, and think of the strange, sad history of her slave trade. One hundred and forty years ago, Bishop Berkeley wrote that Newport was then the first town for commerce in America. The harbor is one of the finest on the Atlantic coast, and if she had not bent her energies to the horrible traffic in the souls of men, she might have been the Empress city of the New World, instead of the languishing beauty she now is. Then Rhode Island would have been traversed by a Broadway, and these channels around it alive with steam ferry-boats, going and coming to its shores as they do to those of her successful rival, Manhattan.

The wharves of Newport are rotten where the rum used to be shipped to barter, a keg for a man, on the coast of Guinea.

Rhode Island families generally owned a negro slave woman, whose individual characteristics are often remembered and talked of with the vivid interest Mrs. Stowe gives old Candace in her Newport story, "Minister's Wooing." Mrs. Burleigh tells us of one who lived with her grandfather till she had her freedom. She died a few years ago, over eighty years old, leaving to the two families where she had spent her life one thousand dollars, saved from her earnings at three and sixpence a week!—a practical refutation of the charge that colored people are an indolent race and can't take care of themselves.

Miss Holley had a full meeting in the Methodist church at the Common, and obtained subscribers for The Standard. The people are liberty-loving. She also spoke at Tiverton, under the hospitable auspices of Mrs. Benjamin Barker and Miss Phebe Jackson. Their sea-side residence commands a lovely prospect of the Bay. We read on our visit Wilkie Collins's "Views Afoot in Cornwall;" and when he speaks of the cliffs of Lizard Point being clothed with the brilliant yellow and purple of furze and heath, we think how gaily Little Compton answers back with golden rod, cardinal flower, purple asters and gerardias. And not Little Compton alone, but all this New England, how it flames and glows through these Autumn weeks with these flowers, and crimson alder beads, and wild rose hips, and garnet-colored barberries and ruby-berried night-shade—its stone walls and thickets wreathed with Virginia creeper.

We have had a great happiness, in a late visit to Theo. D. Weld, whose delightful home is established at Fairmount, Milton, Mass. There, for nearly a week, we listened, day by day, to Mr. Weld's eloquent speech, rich stores of personal anecdote, episodes in his eventful life. We looked with reverence on his benevolent head and into his clear-souled eyes, and felt how a great soul was early quickened by the spirit of truth to shine out and bless all that could feel its power. We took long walks with Mrs. Weld over the beautiful country around Fairmount, and loved her talk. She and her sister, Sarah Grimke, give the impression of radiant youth, they are kept so fresh and bright with the life of thought and principle. It was especially gratifying to hear the Welds and Miss Grimke speak their high appreciation of The Standard. After Miss Holley's lecture there, Mrs. Weld declared she felt like going out herself again in this great crisis to plead for the black man's right to suffrage. Young Theo. Weld escorted us to the top of the Blue Hill of Milton, to rejoice in the splendid prospect over all the towns and country, from Boston to Plymouth on the east, and we had Wachuset and Monadnock in the far-distant western horiz

down, in hope that some young reader of THE STANDARD might take down the Cyclopedia and glean a store of delightful knowledge about these old masters of beauty.

C. F. P.

THE ISSUE.

To the Editor of the Standard:

It is not long since the President was vigorously denouncing Congress for daring to have opinions and a policy of its own; now, if report be true, this very policy, so-called, of Congress, is to be assumed as the future base of operations for the President to carry on war still with the Republican party. Finding that the people are more for Congress than for the Executive, the latter is tempted to "steal their thunder," by assimilating his policy to that so lately denounced and hated. In other words, he is told it is the wisest thing for him to adopt the Constitutional Amendment, after having declared it "illegal, unconstitutional, void." Meanwhile, public opinion has strode on in advance of the Amendment—so far in advance as to leave it out of sight. The Republicans now begin to perceive that they have made a foolish bargain, or, rather, deny that they have made any bargain at all. Whereupon, the New York *Post* pins them to the Syracuse platform, and after citing its declaration to the effect that on the adoption of the Amendment, the Southern States should at once be admitted to representation in Congress, observes: "To this declaration *all* the Republican candidates for Congress in this State are pledged; on this platform they appeal to the people for support; and, as men of honor, they will have to stand by it, if they are elected." It is true, then, as Mr. Phillips said at Framingham, that the people have been basely tricked by their own leaders, or rather by the self-constituted leaders of the Republican party. Confiding in their words and promises, they suddenly find themselves committed, by implication, to a policy which they have long since repudiated, if they ever entertained it, and which is especially repugnant to loyal people now they have learned that that policy is commended to a negro-hating President and persecutor of Southern loyalists, simply because it is the least measure of justice to the blacks, and the very best terms which the South can hope to make in the present mood and temper of the North. All men perceive that a great change has come over the spirit of the country. The Republican standard is advanced, and where the Republican party was, lo, now the President and his party are "hanging on" to the draggle-tail of a Constitutional Amendment! But will he adopt it? Will he recommend it, and urge its adoption by the Southern Legislatures? It is feared he will. Of course he will do anything to save his head, to save himself from impeachment, and his party from total rout and destruction. And he will continue to be helped by such journals as the New York *Times* and *Evening Post*, both of which claim to support the Constitutional Amendment, not as the Congressional plan of reconstruction, but as Johnson's own. He is plainly willing to let his friends take any measures to extricate him from the cruel crotch of public opinion, in which he has unpleasantly fixed himself. But let no Republican soil his fingers or his clothes by touching the skunk. The people have no pity to waste upon him. Their attitude, in the present crisis, is sublime. They do not mean to be moved or swerved a hair's breadth from the line of justice. Oh, that there were a little of that "courageous wisdom," so much needed by statesmen now, to set the broad seal of justice to the laws of the Republic forever!

The people will never conspire with a base trickster and usurper to defraud the orphans of the Republic out of their just inheritance. They know that the Constitutional Amendment is unjust. They know it disfranchises four millions of our countrymen. They know it discriminates in favor of treason against loyalty, and denies the most fundamental doctrine of the Republic, viz., equality of rights and of representation in government. It bids in advance for a war of races, or sets a premium on rebellion and civil war. It discountenances liberty, education and improvement; for, let these men come to an understanding of their position and their rights, and what business would we have to count upon their loyalty? "Put now thy soul in their soul's stead," and say what would you do? Would you be charmed with "the thirty-six stars," the "Union," and "the Constitution"—words meaning your own destruction? Would you be attached to a government which, at a pinch, called for your aid in service, and flung you off as soon as it was rendered? It is a new doctrine in republics, that a citizen-soldier has no rights—he has duties only. And it is a dangerous doctrine to circulate among those who are able to understand it! A people crowded to the wall, maddened by oppressions, injured, insulted and trampled on, and despairing of redress by petition and appeal to the government—what better right of revolution, what surer cause of rebellion in the world? They might well exclaim: "To hell be allegiance; I'll not be juggled with! Give us our rights—rights bought with our own and brothers' blood—if not, your blood shall pay for it." We do not say the negroes would do this; it is what the whites would do in their situation, if government pursued such a policy towards them. The national purpose runs parallel with no such policy. It is unconstitutional and anti-republican. It is most dangerous doctrine, though preached by the Republican party, and put into a constitutional amendment. As Moss said: "The lines in this contest do not run between the President and Congress, but outside of both." True! and it is no great self-denial on the part of President and Congress to come together again, provided they will both do a sufficient amount of dirt-eating.

But no "last Congress" has a right to bind its successor. Legally, we believe, they cannot do so. Let the people then see to it that they send only those to Congress *who are known to be openly, fairly and squarely committed to impartial suffrage, and dead against the President's policy.* Impartial manhood suffrage is the true issue, and there is none other. Seward and Johnson have deliberately forced a false issue upon the country, of which the "first fruits" is the Constitutional Amendment; and they have so far humbugged the Republican party as to make them conplotters to the extent of dropping the negro out of politics, and substituting for impartial suffrage a gross act of fraud and injustice. This treachery to the Republic and to first principles, is the great prime of the Republican party. It cannot be forgotten, and it ought not to be forgiven. When they had it in their power, as they did have it, to demand just terms of reconstruction, and be backed in that demand by the whole loyal nation in the first flush of victory and of triumph, they let slip the GREAT OPPORTUNITY. Their only thought was the selfish one to save their organization, and to conciliate the Cerberus of the White House. The people, firm but generous, are willing to give them another chance. Let us wait and see what they will do with it. Their first duty on assembling will be to get rid of *him*, the charlatan, the constitutional quack-doctor, who talks about applying "a plaster" to a weak back somewhere in the country. Assure him that the Northern spine is not injured. Secondly, as he has declared war upon Congress and the North, as he has raised the black flag and proclaimed no quarter, let no quarter be given. Prepare articles of impeachment. Bring to trial at once, and together, the traitor at Fortress Monroe and the traitor in office who protects him. Teach constitutional thieves and murderers what it is to filch the crown jewels of victory, and pocket them in defiance of the will of the people. The next Congress can do that, for it will be "master of the situation." But if, with backward-treading steps and eyes fixed on future offices, it shrinks from doing what is just and right in the premises, then better for that Congress if it had never been born! What did the last Congress do? They slept on the field of battle, and slept upon their arms. And when the session closed they "stacked arms" and left the field to their opponents. Will they find things as they were on their return? If, as there is some fear, the President shall yet urge the adoption of the Constitutional Amendment upon the people of the South, what capital will the Republican party have left to trade upon? With what weapon will it fight? Their colors captured, their guns spiked, their ammunition gone, what will be left it but compromise and surrender? On that day the flag of the Republic will be furled, and the principle of secession triumphant. Shall Congress repeat the folly of Sherman's treaty with Johnson, or shall Union men affiliate with traitors, as the Cleveland Convention affiliated with Forrest's soldiers of Fort Pillow notoriety? The spirit of the North will rise up in arms at that, and SOMEBODY else will *rise*, who now seems buried in profound ignorance of the temper and spirit of the North.

Yours, etc.,

RECONSTRUCTION.

FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.

BOSTON, October 3, 1866.

BOSTON, well-dressed and intelligent, turned out last night and gave a hearty reception to her favorite Senator. The occasion was the opening of the course of Fraternity lectures in Music Hall. Mr. Sumner chose for a subject, "The One-Man Power *vs.* Congress." It was a calm and plain statement of the points at issue between the Legislative and the Executive branches of the government. There were no attempts at wit or flights of oratory, but rather a deep and grave earnestness befitting the man and the subject. You might say that, "on his brow, deliberation sat and public care." He seemed to have made up his mind that he had a great duty to perform, and he was now tightening the armor and strengthening himself to perform it. He was "drawing out his reasons and setting them in battle array"—a mere skirmishing and disciplining his forces, preparatory to the Winter campaign. When he moves, he will move like Grant or Sherman, marching an army into the heart of the enemy's country, and launching them straightforwardly upon the breastworks of the foe. Yet his mode of making war his tactics, seem rather ancient than modern. Minerva's helmet would fit him, which was so large that Homer says it would garrison a town-full of soldiers. Mr. Sumner has more arguments than he has "space to act, or room to put them in." He always goes "oplites," heavy-armed, and weighed down with thoughts, so that Milton's image of an "elephant indorsed with towers" applies to him. He treads cautiously but firmly, moving on like a force of nature, or some huge animal. Thought and language correspond to the slow and elephantine movement of his mind. The audience sat still and listened, as they could hear the dry bones crack when the speaker "put his foot down," as he figuratively and frequently did, trampling the underbrush, and occasionally stopping to pick up a telling anecdote, or to hurl an old proverb, like a javelin, straight at the heart of "my policy."

A mind thoroughly equipped with all the stores of legal and constitutional learning, and having at command every weapon of logic and of history—he looked the terrible accuser of the President which he is likely to be. Yet his address was entirely free from vituperation—no abuse, no rant, no bravado. There were not wanting passages of quiet irony and tremendous sarcasm—as where he characterized the controversy on the President's part as "a quarrel of the personal pronoun *I* with the people of the United States." He denounced the President as, next to Jefferson Davis, "the greatest enemy of the Republic." He had done a world of mischief already. To tell what he had done was like "measuring an arc of the globe." Enough that Jefferson Davis lay in a casemate of Fortress Monroe and Andrew Johnson *was doing his work*. Mr. Seward was *not* a good adviser—a mild statement, but so plain that it was received as the truth of history. The President had committed two enormous blunders, that of claiming jurisdiction where he had none, and secondly, installing rebels in power. These formed the staple of the speech. The most interesting part, to the audience at least, was a statement of personal relations formerly existing between Mr. Sumner and the President, and the averment that at one time they were perfectly agreed in restoring the Union on the basis of the Declaration of Independence. But I must not report.

Mr. Sumner is not a great orator, perhaps; but he is great by the force of moral ideas, and conscious of the impregnability of his position. I was sorry to hear him say that the Constitutional Amendment would of course be adopted; but not sorry to have his opinion that the President would oppose it. He admitted it was a failure—it was not strong enough, not equal to the exigencies of the case. The just term was impartial suffrage, the mention of which, by the way, elicited a spontaneous outburst of approval and clapping of hands, which showed instantly where the sympathies of the audience were. Indeed, I am half afraid that Mr. Sumner is not more than abreast with public opinion in this matter. I am morally certain that, in New England and the West, he is not ahead of it. And if not, it is his duty and others', to act on the suggestion, and to make the mind of the country known. Nothing but cowardice and the meanest trickery will prevent our representatives in the next Congress from pressing this demand home. When Democrats, rebels, and, as we believe, the President himself, are going to settle down on a Constitutional Amendment, it is time for Republicans to demand something more. Mr. Sumner must do it, or he and his friends be disarmed and content to purchase a dishonorable peace, at the expense of the negro, with the "South Victorious."

Yours, etc., B.

FOR THE STANDARD.

A DAY OF LIFE.

Up, up, up!
The sun is o'er the eastern hill,
The dew has left the butter-cup,
The birds the air with music fill,—
Up, up, up!

Toil, toil, toil!
Nature's woke from nightly rest,
The bees collect their flowery spoil,
The bird has left his little nest,—
Toil, toil, toil!

Sleep, sleep, sleep!
The bright sun lowly westward falls,
The shades of night begin to creep,
And the katydid her mate calls,—
Sleep, sleep, sleep!

New York, Oct. 8, 1856. T. S.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON FOR CONGRESS.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE EIGHTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT.

ALTHOUGH, by the Constitution of the State of New York, woman is denied the elective franchise, yet she is eligible to office; therefore I present myself to you as a candidate for Representative to Congress. Belonging to a disfranchised class, I have no political antecedents to recommend me to your support, but my creed is *free speech, free press, free men,* and *free trade*—the cardinal points of democracy. Viewing all questions from the stand-point of principle rather than expediency, there is a fixed uniform law, as yet unrecognized by either of the leading parties, governing alike the social and political life of men and nations. The Republican party has occasionally a clear vision of personal rights, while in its protective policy it seems wholly blind to the rights of property and interests of commerce; while it recognizes the duty of benevolence between man and man, it teaches the narrowest selfishness in trade between nations. The Democrats, on the contrary, while holding sound and liberal principles in trade and commerce, have ever in their political affiliations maintained the idea of class and caste among men; an idea wholly at variance with the genius of our free institutions and fatal to a high civilization. One party fails at one point and one at another. In asking your suffrages—believing alike in free men and free trade—I could not represent either party as now constituted.

Nevertheless, as an Independent Candidate, I desire an election at this time, as a rebuke to the dominant party for its retrogressive legislation, in so amending the Constitution as to make invidious distinctions on the ground of sex.

That instrument recognizes as persons all citizens who obey the laws and support the State, and if the Constitutions of the several States were brought into harmony with the broad principles of the Federal Constitution, the women of the nation would no longer be taxed without representation, or governed without their consent. One word should not be added to that Great Charter of Rights to the insult or injury of the humblest of our citizens. I would gladly have a voice and vote in the Fortieth Congress to demand *universal suffrage*, that thus a republican form of government might be secured to every State in the Union.

If the party now in the ascendency makes its demand for "negro suffrage" in good faith on the ground of natural right, and because the highest good of the State demands that the republican idea be vindicated, on no principle of justice or safety can the women of the nation be ignored.

In view of the fact that the Freedmen of the South and the millions of foreigners now crowding our Western shores, most of whom represent neither property, education or civilization, are all, in the progress of events, to be enfranchised; the best interests of the nation demand that we outweigh this incoming pauperism, ignorance and degradation, with the wealth, education, and refinement of the women of the republic. On the high ground of safety to the nation and justice to its citizens I ask your support in the coming election.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

New York, Oct. 10, 1866.

SOUTHERN LOYALISTS' CONVENTION.

WE take the following items from an inside view of the late Loyal Convention in Philadelphia, by W. G. Snethen, of Baltimore. The glimpse they give of the history of the suffrage question inside the Convention will interest our readers.

Just then, my eye fell on the gaunt form of my old friend, Col. Moss of Missouri, who was with me in our brief, but effectual Fremont campaign at Cleveland, in May, 1864. I say effectual, for had the Cleveland Fremont Convention never been held, the Baltimore Lincoln Convention would have fallen into the slough of diluted copperheadism. The Colonel could hardly get through the interchange of greetings before he summoned me to the fight for impartial suffrage, which we had inaugurated at Cleveland. He informed me that there was a scheme on foot to choke down the Convention on this question, and make it stop at the congressional limit of equal suffrage. This was the first that I had heard of such a letting down. While putting our heads together, Mr. Sands, one of A. Johnson's headless Internal Revenue Collectors in the notorious Ben. Harris's congressional district of Md., came to me, and besought my aid to check the tide of manhood negro suffrage, that the unreconstructed States had let loose upon the Convention, and to be content with the Equal Suffrage Amendment. I introduced him to Col. Moss, and he soon found us to be unmovable on this point.

MR. BAYLOR'S SOLUTION OF THE QUESTION.

The delegates from the unreconstructed States claimed that this Convention was theirs exclusively, and not intended for any of the States represented on the floor of Congress; but as the border ex-slave States had come into it, Mr. Baylor suggested that the committee of all the ex-slave States present, indorse congressional equal suffrage, which could be done unanimously, and that instead of a minority report, the committee from the unreconstructed States, should report what was the remedy for the evils under which they were suffering from the presidential usurpation. This proved to be a satisfactory solution of the whole question; for, while the border States would not be directly committed to impartial suffrage by any act of the Convention, the Southern States, by demanding manhood negro suffrage as the only means of salvation for white loyal men therein, would stop the mouths of the enemy, that the Radicals were forcing impartial suffrage upon unwilling Union men in the South. They who doubted to the last the wisdom of agitating the question of impartial suffrage at all were convinced, when the Convention adopted Judge Warmouth's address so unanimously, that the act was a righteous one.

JUDGE BOND'S RESOLUTION.

The reception of this resolution, which declared there was no hope for the South, without a return to negro suffrage, fell on the Convention like a thunderbolt. Dead silence ensued. Mr. Clayton of the House of Representatives, read it a second time in his far-reaching and musical voice. Another awkward pause. Your humble servant, as King Johnson styles himself, when his modesty overcomes his egotism, could hold back no longer. Sitting inside the railing, just in front of the Maryland delegation, he clapped his hands and cried, "Bravo, Judge Bond! bravo, Judge Bond! bravo, Judge Bond!" Keeping up this cry and clapping all the while, the applause swept round to the extreme Southern side of the Convention, down the middle tier of seats, and up again on the Northern side of the Convention. It swept through the Vice-Presidents, too, on the platform. This lasted for fully a minute, when there was a pause, and then the cry of "Bravo, Judge Bond!" broke out again with clapping of hands, and so the approbation swept over the Convention again, and again! Then some delegate from the South proposed three cheers for Judge Bond, when nearly the whole Convention sprang to their feet, and made the hall ring with three times three. The resolution had gone to the committee, when a fierce and noisy debate sprang up, whether the Convention had formally adopted it or not, which was decided by the chair, in the negative, against the tumultuous indorsement by the Convention of the principle involved in it.

My friend Sands of Md. called to me and remarked, that this action of the Convention had lost Maryland to the Union party. I differed from him, and counselled the open adoption by the Maryland delegation of Judge Bond's resolution, as an antidote to Gov. Swann's registration of disloyal white men.

THE NIGHT SCENE IN BROAD STREET.

Not less than one hundred thousand people were present on Broad Street on the night of the reunion of the two Conventions, or rather of the public welcome given to the Southern Loyalists by the Northern loyalists. It was a scene never to be forgotten. I have been at nearly all the monster meetings in this country in the last thirty years; but never have I seen anything comparable to this for numbers, enthusiasm, and good feeling. I circulated through the crowd both ways, and saw with my own eyes, and heard with my own ears, the re-establishment of Northern and Southern friendship, on the basis of justice to all men.

I got upon the German stand, and there I met my old friend, Col. Moss of Missouri, who, like myself, has a decided liking for German loyalism. It has the true fire of the flint. From that point, as far as the eye could reach, each way, the street seemed like a stream of flowing fire, for an hour and a half. Torches, fireworks of all kinds, made the heavens resplendent. Col. Moss proposed three cheers for the soldier who set free the first slave in the late war, Gen. Fremont; and the cheers were doubled and trebled, showing that the Pathfinder is not dead in the German heart. The Colonel then proposed three cheers for the great American negro statesman and orator, Frederick Douglass, and they were given with a fire that showed how truly the German heart beats responsive to our common manhood. Soon after, there passed a revolving lantern, with the faces of Lincoln, Hamlin, Grant and Farragut, all in light, and the faces of A. Johnson and Seward, hideous in darkness visible. Whenever these latter faces turned to the multitude, they saluted them with groans and hootings. Following this, came a transparency of the Elephant Club, with an elephant twisting Seward up in his trunk, and crushing A. Johnson under one foot. The motto was, "Where we tread, we crush." Emblematic of the AMERICAN PEOPLE, just now, in this conflict.

THE PRESS,

ON THE OCTOBER ELECTIONS.

THE *Tribune* of this (Wednesday) morning says:

PENNSYLVANIA.

The most desperate political struggle that ever convulsed a State closed in Pennsylvania at 6 o'clock last evening in the election of Gen. John W. Geary as Governor by a majority of 10,000 to 20,000 over Heister Clymer, with a very strong Republican Union majority in the new delegation to Congress and in the Legislature which is to elect a U. S. Senator to succeed the Hon. *Edgar Cowan* (Johnson) for six years from the 4th of March next. We write with but partial returns before us, but these leave no doubt as to the general result.

As to Representatives in Congress, we have almost certainly gained Gen. Cake (instead of Strouse) in the Schuylkill district, elected Koontz over Coffroth in the district where the last return was contested, and carried every district we had before; making *seventeen* in all to five certainly against us, leaving Dawson's district (Covode against Weir) and Dennison's (now contested by Archibald) to hear from. We shall consider these against us till we hear otherwise.

Nobly done, Old Keystone! New York will double your majority!

OHIO.

Though our returns from this State are but partial, they are very good, and indicate a Union majority on the State Ticket of over 30,000 at least, with nearly or quite as many Representatives in Congress as in '64. Eggleston, Shellabarger, and probably Delano, are among those elected, by our dispatches.

The *World* puts on the best face possible, and says:

The returns of the elections yesterday are too meagre for one to state positively the full results in each State. Moreover, little reliance can be placed upon the first dispatches that are received, since they pass through Republican hands, and are doctored by them to suit themselves, as was done in the case of the Vermont and Maine elections last month. *But the news, meagre as it is, indicates Democratic gains everywhere.* The very paucity of reports received last night augurs well for the Democrats, for had the Radicals achieved a victory, they would have spread the news far and wide at once.

Here we have the assurance of victory—Hoffman and Pruyn are to be our next Governor and Lieutenant-Governor; but we must send as many Conservatives to the Rump Congress as possible, and roll up a majority for the Union in the Empire State, which will put to rout the hopes and the plots of the Radical Disunionists.

Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Iowa have done well, but they have had a more infatuated sentiment to contend against, larger majorities to overcome. Let every man of us now gird himself to the work and put New York at the head of the Union column.

The *Herald* has new hope for the Amendment, and calls upon the President and his Southeen friends for "a new departure." It says: "Altogether we think the results of yesterday's elections may be pronounced sufficiently decisive to call for a new departure by the Administration and the Southern States in favor of the constitutional amendment of Congress now before the States for their ratification. The gains of the Democrats in the comparative popular vote in such cities as Philadelphia and Cincinnati reveal the assistance drawn from the Administration; but the general drift of the popular current outside of the great cities indicates more clearly the predominant public sentiment of the North."

The *Daily News* makes the best of the unwelcome results as follows:

The returns from the various States in which elections were held yesterday, seem to indicate that gain have been made on the Democratic vote of last year. From the unofficial returns it would appear that Pennsylvania has elected the Radical ticket by a somewhat reduced majority. In Indiana the contest has in all probability been very close, both parties claiming a victory at the present writing. Scattering returns from Ohio indicate that its political complexion remains unchanged. Iowa has given her usual majority for the Radical disunionists.

The *Times* has no opinion to give in connection with its announcement of a Republican "majority almost overwhelming."

The *Evening Post* also thinks it settled by the elections yesterday that the people demand the passage of the Constitutional Amendment. It says:

Of sixty members of Congress elected yesterday—one fourth of the whole House—only ten are Democrats. That is a token of public opinion which can hardly be mistaken.

The people with great unanimity demand the passage of the Constitutional Amendment. That is the issue which is settled by this election.

The *Evening Express* infers that there has been "no considerable gain to the Democrats," and endeavors to rally "the faithful" as follows:

The elections in Pennsylvania, and in Ohio, Indiana, and Iowa, would seem to have resulted pretty much as they did two years ago—with no considerable gain to the Democrats.

All these elections, however, should not, ought not, and will not, shake or shatter the Great Empire State. *Our dominion is the dominion of the United States,*—if we are true to our commerce, our trade, and our general interests. We are consumers as well as producers. We buy and sell. The transit of the Union's commerce is through us. Empire is really here, and if we re-establish the Empire of the Union Conservative Party here, other Northern States will soon flock back into the Union fold. ORGANIZATION, EFFORT, can certainly secure us a Triumph, and they, and they alone. Give us Hoffman for Governor, and Pennsylvania, all in vain, votes herself "Bounties" under the name of "Geary" & Co. The Empire State never had more at stake than *now*, just NOW—and Peace, Order, and future Prosperity, as well as Commerce and Trade, and Capital, hang upon our Triumph here. Here is the Gibraltar of the Union, and unless that is taken, every other fortress captured is but a redoubt, a battery of minor importance. The trust, then, to New York is great,— but we are worthy of it, and we will do our duty under it.

WE are obliged to defer till next week communications which we have on hand from Seth Hunt, Esq., of Northampton, Mr. R. W. Hume, of Astoria, and others, for want of room. These communications with other interesting matter are unavoidably crowded out of this number. We hope to present them next week.

OBITUARY.

DIED, at Jacksonville, Illinois, September 17th, 1866, JOHN WESLEY MAHAN, eldest son of Rev. John B. and Mary C. Mahan. Deceased was born March 14th, 1828, in Highland County, Ohio. He was a stern anti-slavery man and a zealous advocate of equal rights, as was his father before him, who died at Sardinia, Broom County, Ohio, December 17th, 1844.

The name of John B. Mahan is familiar to all the early friends and advocates of the anti-slavery cause. He assisted in organizing the Second Anti-Slavery Society formed in the State of Ohio—was for many years a prominent lecturer in the anti-slavery field. He was finally arrested on a charge, filed in the Mason County Circuit Court of Kentucky, in 1836, by a miserable wretch named Greathouse, of aiding a negro slave to escape. Although innocent of this charge, yet being compelled to investigate the same in a foreign Court, it proved his financial ruin, and his health failing, he died soon after. His widow, Mary C. Mahan, with her family, moved from Sardinia, Broom County, Ohio, in 1846, to Lexington, McLean County, Illinois, at which place she now resides.—*Com.*

LITERARY.

The favorably-known sheet-music business of Mr. Horace Waters has been transferred to Mr. Charles M. Tremaine, who continues at the old stand, 481 Broadway. Mr. T. has just issued, as an earnest of his enterprise, four well-looking pieces: "Waiting for the Loved One," "Banjo Galop," "Bells in Distant Lands," "Beautiful Form of My Dreams."

Blackwood, for September, contains an article on a peculiarly interesting subject: "English Converts to Romanism." Also, two political articles: "The Great Unrepresented" and "The Legacy of the Late Government"—the former being, putatively, a woman's argument against Mr. Mill on the "female franchise;" while the latter is a bitter Tory review of the technical administration of the late Liberal Ministry. "Westminster School" is concluded, and "Nina Balatka" continued.

Every Saturday, for October 13, contains: The Village on the Cliff, by Miss Thackeray—III.; Sneezing Considered Historically; History of a Wooden Shoe; Mr. Tiddijohn; The Session of the Poets; Black Sheep, by Edmund Yates—Ch. V., VI.; Literary Partnerships; Pretty Actresses; Antony Payne, Cornish Giant; Foreign Notes; Different Points of View; Finis.

The October number of *Our Young Folks* is particularly felicitous in its engravings. These are well cut and well printed, with the exception—we are sorry to say—of the frontispiece, which seems innocent alike of black ink in what should be its shadows, or of any likeness to distant haze in what is meant to be a sky. These, however, are entirely the printer's faults. The most ambitious effort in the magazine, for engraving, is the illustration of "Among the Studios." *Something* of McEntee's pencil has certainly been preserved under the touch of "graver" and "roller." At least, the mind of picturesque fancy can look through the veil of *lines* and see the dumb, but still eloquent, colors beneath—albeit all be "in sombre sable clad." Some good botanical clippings, well illustrated, come to our little friends, still in season for practical verification—in the country, at least—in No. 5 of Mrs. Hale's "Four Seasons." Tilton's "Lullaby" is unassuming enough over its modest initials; hence no word of ours shall carp at it in passing. A sketch of the war is covered by the title of "The Veteran Eagle," and Mrs. Stowe's pleasant pussy-willow sprig is, for a wonder, yet green. Its freshness might tempt a horticulturist to offer a sly bribe to its keeper for her secret. The picture of "Pussy" in the hay, however, somewhat belies either her cognomen in the story, or the Medean laws of perspective. Simple of movement, but lovely in cadence, is the "Nutting Song," and a neat-looking piece of music at that, readable at a greater distance, with its small print, than the stereotype-editions of "sheet" published by the dealers. The poetry of the "song" is of more merit than many a more notably-signed production.

The Catalogue of Antioch College, of Yellow Springs, Green county, Ohio, for 1865–6, shows a prosperous and promising record. The Winter term begins January 2, 1867.

AN INCIDENT OF THE FIRST PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION.—Gov. Morton of Indiana, in a recent speech, related the following significant incident of the "my policy" schemes at Philadelphia, showing how near they came to publishing a direct insult upon all Union soldiers:

"I want now to mention a fact that occurred at the Philadelphia Convention, which I believe is not generally known. It is a very significant fact, however, and was stated by Judge Hughes in a public speech at Masonic Hall, in Indianapolis, at which time the Judge called upon any member of the Indiana delegation to contradict the statement. They appointed a Committee composed of one or two from each State, to prepare resolutions to be submitted to that Convention as a platform. They prepared the resolutions and got through with their labors on Wednesday night, and the resolutions were to be submitted to the Convention on the next day. In this platform which they had prepared they had inserted a resolution complimenting the rebel soldier and the Union soldier just alike for their bravery. They put the rebel soldier and the Union soldier upon a perfect equality; and why should not they? There were a good many more rebel soldiers in that Convention than there were Union soldiers. They did not go there for the sole purpose of thanking Union soldiers, but in their resolution they thanked the *American* soldier, without regard to the section of country from which he came, and, in less than a year and a half after the war was over, placed the rebel soldiers and the Union soldiers upon an equality. But at three o'clock on Thursday morning a delegate from Indiana, who seemed to have more sense than any of the rest of them, got up from his bed and had the members of the committee called up. He had them assembled at the Continental Hotel before daylight, and told them that if that resolution went to the country in that form, it would grind them to powder in the North; that the time had not come when they could go before the Northern people and put rebel soldiers on an equality with Union soldiers, and compliment them. Therefore the resolution was changed, it is said, by striking out the word 'American,' and inserting the word 'Federal' before 'soldiers.'

"Week before last I received a paper published at Augusta, Georgia—the *Augusta Sentinel and Chronicle*—edited by a rebel soldier, who was a member of the committee which formed the Philadelphia platform. He says in his paper that the change was not made with the consent of a majority of the committee, and that, in its present form, the resolution is a fraud upon the Southern people. He says that a majority of the committee did not consent to strike out the word American, and insert the word Federal, and that they don't feel bound by the resolution in its present form."

MR. SEWARD AND HIS NEIGHBORS.—An Auburn correspondent, writing of Mr. Seward's former popularity at home, adds:

"The change of feeling is tremendous. A young man who has lately been canvassing in the county for Carpenter's picture 'The Emancipation Proclamation before the Cabinet,' in which Seward figures prominently, was frequently met with the rebuff, 'take that picture away, I dont want Seward's face in my house,' and that from life-long and enthusiastic friends of the Secretary.

"His remark at Niagara that 'the Radicals have no leaders,' has aroused a wide-spread indignation at the assumption that a free, intelligent people require to be led and directed in their political opinions by a master mind. This refusal to follow an old standard-bearer when he goes over to the enemy is a hopeful sign for Republican institutions which can only be sustained by an intelligent people, but an ill omen for the traitors whom Cayuga County will this Fall help to bury beyond the hope of a resurrection."

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.—We see it stated in some of the journals, that William H. Seward said at Utica to an officer of the Federal army: "I would give my right arm to be put back where I stood on February 22d.

SUMMARY.

The President has appointed November 29 as a day of National Thanksgiving.—Another rebel paper, the New Orleans *Picayune*, has declared itself in favor of the Constitutional Amendment proposed by Congress.—The reconstructed Texas Legislature has rejected a candidate for the U. S. Senate, on the ground of his loyalty to the Union in 1861.—Judge J. S. Brien (rebel), in the election of Representative to the Tennessee Legislature in the Nashville District, beat the loyal candidate, Dicky, by 1,329 votes. The number polled was 2,373.—Isaac N. Arnold, in resigning the post of Second Auditor of the Treasury, has written a letter of reproof to the President, similar to that of Hannibal Hamlin in purport, but couched in language far more direct and cutting. A weaker exploit of a similar nature has been performed by D. N. Cooley, in resigning the Indian Bureau. Secretary Browning endeavored, under a plea of formality, to prevent the publication of this letter until after the October elections. In this he was unsuccessful. Col. Bogg, of St. Louis, is Mr. Cooley's successor.—Rear-Admiral Gregory died on the 9th inst., at Brooklyn, N. Y. He was 77 years of age.—Com. Stockton, distinguished in the war of 1812 and for some years after, as a naval officer, and thereafter, successively, as a Jacksonian politician, as a naval constructor, as the annexator of California, as U. S. Senator from New Jersey, as a member of the Peace Congress of 1861, and during a long while as a railroad king, and as the owner, in large part, of the Camden-Amboy monopoly and the State of New Jersey, died at Princeton, N. J., October 7th, at the age of 70.—The rebel trouble at Brenham, Texas, is to be investigated by Gen. Sheridan, and also by Gov. Throckmorton.—On the 5th inst., another affray occurred near Memphis, between negroes and Caucasians. Two blacks were killed and three wounded. The neighborhood is being scoured for negroes.—A couple of the Southern loyalists who attempted to speak in Cairo, Ill., on the 5th inst., were prevented from so doing by the rebel mob, which broke up the meeting, tore down "that Yankee flag," and hurrahed for Andrew Johnson and Jefferson Davis.—In Philadelphia, on the 6th, a collision took place between a Democratic and a Republican organization, which resulted in one death and some minor damage.

THE GREATEST MECHANICAL TRIUMPH OF THE DAY.—No modern invention has been more felicitous and beneficent than the sewing-machine, now rapidly becoming a household friend. Yet, ingenious as is this invention, there was yet a portion of skilled labor deemed by the ablest mechanicians as wholly beyond its ability to accomplish, namely, the making of a button-hole. This great difficulty, however, has been most effectually overcome, for we have just seen, in operation, a new and beautiful machine of the Singer Manufacturing Company, not only performing this labor at the rate of nearly six hundred per day, but making button-holes in a style of finish far superior to that executed by the cleverest fingers, thereby effecting a complete revolution in this department of labor and capital. The new lock-stitch family sewing-machine of this Company is also deservedly popular, uniting, as it does, the varied merits of all others in use. It is capable of every kind of work, each stitch being alike on both sides of the fabric; its motions are all positive, and so simple that a child can work it; it is *noiseless*; and it may be had in a style suitable alike for the humblest home or the drawing-room. In short, this machine is unquestionably the best, and, we may add, *the cheapest in the world.*—*London Court Journal, Aug.* 18.

Advertisements.

REMOVAL NOTICE.

The office of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society has been removed from No. 5 South Fifth street, to the old stand, No. 107 North Fifth street, where it was formerly located for upwards of twenty years. Specimen numbers of the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD furnished and new subscriptions received as above.

BENJAMIN C. BACON, Corresponding Secretary.

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LOVED ONCE.

BY ELIZABETH BARRET BROWNING.

I CLASSED and counted once
Earth's lamentable sounds—the well-a-day,
The jarring yea and nay,
The fall of kisses upon senseless clay,—

The sobbed farewell, the greeting mournfuller,—
But all these accents were
Less bitter with the leaven of earth's despair
Than I thought these—"loved *once*."

And who saith "I loved once?"
Not angels; whose clear eyes love, love foresee;
Love through eternity—
Who by "to love" do apprehend "to be."

Not God, called "Love," this noble crown name; casting
A light too broad for blasting!
The great God, changing not for everlasting,
Saith never, "I loved once."

Nor ever "I loved once"
Wilt Thou say, O meek Christ, O victim friend!
The nail the cross may rend;
But, having loved, Thou lovest to the end.

This is *man's* saying! Impotent to move
One spheric star above,
Man desecrates the eternal God-word, Love,
With his "no more" and "once."

How say ye, "We loved once,"
Blasphemers? Is your earth not cold enow,
Mourners, without that snow?
Ah, sweetest friend—and would ye wrong me so?

And would ye say of *me*, whose heart is known,
Whose prayers have met your own:
Whose tears have fallen for you; whose smile hath shone,
Your words—"We loved her once?"

Could ye "We loved her once"
Say cold of me, when dwelling out of sight?
When happier friends aright
(Not truer) stand between me and your light?

When, like a flower kept too long in the shade,
Ye find my colors fade,
And all that is not love in me, decayed,
Say ye, "We loved her once!"

Will ye, "We loved her once"
Say after, when the bearers leave the door?
When, having murmured o'er
My last "Oh, say it not," I speak no more?

Not so—not then—*least* THAN! when life is shriven,
And death's full joy is given,—
Of those who sit and love you up in heaven,
Say not, "We loved them once."

Say never, "We loved once;"
God is too near above—the grave below;
And all our moments go
Too quickly past our souls for saying so.

The mysteries of life and death avenge
Affections light of range—
There comes no change to justify that change,
Whatever comes—"loved once!"

And yet that word of "once"
Is humanly acceptive—kings have said,
Shaking a discrowned head,
"We ruled once" idiot tongues, "we once bested."

Cripples once danced i' the vines, and warriors proved
To nurses' rocking moved:
But Love strikes one hour—LOVE! Those *never* loved
Who dream that they loved *once*.

THE LIFE OF THE MOSQUITO.

From the American Agriculturist.

DID it ever occur to you, when by a well-directed slap you demolish a mosquito, that you destroy a very beautiful, and in spite of its blood-thirsty propensities, interesting object? The male insect is readily distinguished by his plumes. He has the negative quality of not annoying us, lives but a short time, and what little food he requires he gets from flowers. The female is armed with a formidable proboscis. To understand her history, we must go back to the eggs. The female lays her eggs upon the water; finding a suitable place, she supports herself by her two pairs of fore legs, and crossing the hinder pair like a letter X, she deposits the eggs, one after another, in this support made by the legs, putting them endwise, side by side, and sticking them firmly together by means of a glutinous secretion which covers them. When the mass is complete, it is in the shape of a little boat, consisting of from one hundred and fifty to three hundred and fifty eggs, which is set afloat and abandoned to its fate. The little raft floats persistently; it will not sink, nor will hard usage break it up, nor freezing destroy the vitality of the eggs. In a few days the larvæ, as the first stage of the insects is called, are hatched, and make their way out of the under side of the egg, and go off in search of food. They may be seen in any vessel of rain-water that has been exposed for some days during summer; from their peculiar manner of locomotion they are called "wrigglers." Near the tail is a tube of hairs through which the wriggler breathes. When not disturbed it rests with its head downward, and with this tube at the surface of the water, but on approach of danger it rapidly wriggles itself to the bottom of the vessel. After wriggling through eight to fifteen of the first days of its existence, and casting its skin two or three times, the mosquito goes into the pupa state. In this condition it swims with its head upward, and though not so lively as before, it moves and tumbles about by means of some paddles at the end of its tail. While in the pupa state it takes no food, and its breathing arrangements are quite reversed; for, instead of respiring through the tube at the end of its tail, it is furnished with two tubes at the head, through which it takes in air. This state of things lasts from five to ten days, when the skin bursts and the perfect insect comes forth. This is a most critical period in the life of these insects, and they only can emerge with safety on a very still, sunny day. The skin of the pupa bursts open on the back, and the insect first protrudes its head, then its chest gradually follows, and it stands erect in the shell with its legs still confined, and its wings limp and damp. The slightest breeze at this time would upset the frail boat, and the insect would be drowned. But a very small proportion of the whole succeed in passing the last transformation in safety. Soon the front pair of legs are extricated, and placed upon the water. This enables the insect to steady itself, and much diminishes the danger of upsetting. The sun speedily dries the wings, which are gradually expanded; then the other legs are drawn out and placed on the edge of the pupa case, and the antennæ and proboscis are elevated, and the insect is able to quit its watery abode and fly off to serenade us with its shrill note, and to relieve us of our surplus blood.

Naturalists are not agreed as to the manner in which the mosquito produces its peculiar and annoying sound; it is thought by some that the wings alone do not cause it, but that they are aided by the rapid vibration of the muscles of the chest. It is said that the wings vibrate fifty times in a second. If the cause of the song of the mosquito is not well understood, such is not the case with the other annoying peculiarity—its sting. Here the object is so small that the microscope must be called to our aid. When examined by the glass, the sting of the mosquito is found to be a very beautiful as well as complex instrument. The wonderful fineness of its points is seen in the ease with which they penetrate our tough skin. The sting itself would cause but little annoyance, were it not that the proboscis gives off an irritating secretion which inflames the slight wound, and in some persons becomes a painful swelling, and even troublesome ulcers. This is intended to give an idea of the structure and habits of mosquitoes in general, and not of any particular species. Our mosquitoes belong to the genera *Megarhinus* and *Culex*, but they do not seem to have been thoroughly studied, and there is much confusion among naturalists concerning them.

HEARERS VERSUS DOERS.—Ruskin says, with his old pungency, in one of his new essays: "You women of England are all now shrieking with one voice—you and your clergymen together—because you hear of your Bibles being attacked. If you choose to obey your Bibles, you will never care who attacks them. It is just because you never fulfil a single, downright precept of the book that you are so careful of its credit. The Bible tells you to dress plainly, and you are mad for finery; the Bible tells you to have pity on the poor, and you crush them under your carriage wheels; the Bible tells you to do judgment and justice, and you do not [illegible] care to know so much as what the Bible word justice means."

THE CHALETS OF THE ALPS.—Those who have not in person visited the Chalets can form but little idea of the primitive simplicity with which these rude dwellings are built. In some places they are merely made of large stones piled on one another, with a sloping roof, and surrounded by a narrow gutter to carry off the rain; others, when situated within reach of the forests, are built of rough logs of wood, placed across each other, the interstices being filled with moss and dried leaves; those are better than the stone huts, as they are much warmer and retain less damp. The whole building is about 20 ft. by 14 ft., and divided by a slight wooden partition, the larger portion being used as a cowshed. Above this apartment, and under the slanting roof, is the place where the hay is stored, and which forms the shepherd's sleeping chamber. The remainder, a space of about 14 ft. by 6 ft. is reserved for kitchen and parlor, and is not unfrequently shared by one or two favorite goats, or even a pig. This part is open to the roof, and through a trap door, kept open by means of a long fir-pole, the smoke finds exit, chimneys not being in vogue. It has also another slight partition or screen across one corner, which is appropriated as pantry or larder.

There being no windows, daylight is admitted through the door, which is kept open for that purpose. The floor is of stone, or rather a mixture of earth, rock, and stone; and there is no fire-place, a fire being made when required on the ground in a corner. Its furniture consists of a wooden bench or settle, and perhaps a large stone boulder, which serves as a table or seat, as may be required. The kitchen utensils comprise two or three porringers, a kettle, and a few wooden spoons, besides two milking-pails. Above the hearth, which is formed of stones, is suspended a little wooden crane that turns on a pivot, upon which is hung the great copper cauldron that the king of the herd brought up in triumph on his head from the village below, and in which the milk is scalded preparatory to making it into butter and cheese. There is no lack of ventilation in the dwelling, for around, above and between the bare rafters which form the walls the wind and cold air from the glaciers above whistles freely, though this is in a measure tempered by the warm and fragrant breath of the cows, which are closely packed every night within the hut.—*Chambers's Journal.*

"HON." AND "ESQ."—There are about thirty millions of people in this country; how many of these are men who expect to be addressed as Honorable? Perhaps only two, that is, one-third of the adult male population. Before you pronounce this estimate extravagant, think a moment who do expect this very questionable compliment. All members of Congress and of State Legislatures; all Judges, Justices of the Peace, Police Justices, and Sheriffs; all Mayors, Aldermen, and Councilmen; all heads of departments and their chief assistants in National and State governments; and not only these, but also all those who have at any time held these positions. The aggregate of these persons is enormous, and includes no small proportion of the mature men of the country, even if it does not take in a full third of them. The variety of the men to whom this title is applied is no less remarkable than the number. It extends from Chief-Justice Chase to Councilman Terence O'Toole, who got into the New York Councils by keeping a porter-house in the Sixth Ward. As of course the number of those who are of the Hon. Mr. O'Toole's grade, or near it, is very much greater than that who approach Mr. Chase's, the question arises, Is it a compliment, or the reverse, to be addressed as the Hon. Mr. Blank? The answer, it would seem, is not far to seek. If the prefix in question were confined to members of Congress and Judges of courts of record, it would be an honorable distinction, and to a certain extent a useful one; but now it tells nothing about the person to whom it is applied, except that the chances are about seven to ten that he is in company into which men of character and culture would much prefer not to go. But what shall we say about Esquire? An Esquire may be defined as every man who is not Hon. or D.D. The question thereupon presents itself to the practical mind, since the title Esq. makes no distinction whatever (for hodmen and bootblacks use it when addressing each other), is not the time, ink, and paper devoted to it absolutely lost? Is not the man who addresses John Smith, who happens to be neither an Honorable nor a Doctor of Divinity (for there are such men), doing a foolish thing when he writes John Smith, Esq.? There is elegance as well as good sense in the simple style of address used by the Friends; and if we add Mr.—or, better, Master, as it was originally—to distinguish the mature man from the lad, we have done about as much as we can do consistently with good taste or reason.

REST.

REST is not quitting
The busy career;
Rest is the fitting
Of self to one's sphere.

'Tis the brook's motion
Clear without strife,
Fleeing to ocean
After its life.

'Tis loving and serving
The highest and best;
'Tis onward, unswerving,
And this is true rest.

—*Goethe.*

Correspondence of the New York Evening Post.

WASHINGTON, July 17.

UNTIL recently the scientific world has held, from the almost universal absence of remains in the lower strata, that man had no existence on the earth until after the period of the fossil mastodon, which the caution of the inductive generalizers of our day still permits us to know is by them reckoned at hundreds of thousands of years ago. Three or four discoveries have of late thrown some doubt upon the matter. A singular relic was recently received at the Smithsonian Institution. It is a piece of matting wrought of the bark of the cane (*Arundinaria macrospermum*) by the hand of man, which was found in a stratum two feet below that in which were found, about the same spot, the fossil remains of an elephant of the remote period. The specimen was found on Petit Anse Island, near Vermillion Bay, on the coast of Louisiana, last Spring. This island, independently of this extraordinary revelation, is itself sufficiently wonderful.

AN ISLAND OF SALT.

The extent of the isle is about five thousand acres, covered with a soil from fifteen to twenty feet deep. At this depth, in any part of the tract, may be found a stratus of hard, pure rock salt, of unknown depth, and, practically, inexhaustible quantity. It is this, within three feet of which it was found, that preserved the matting referred to. This salt, of which a large mass is deposited in the Smithsonian Institution, is almost chemically pure, very strong and nearly or quite as hard as sandstone. Mention is historically made of its discovery by the early explorers of the Gulf coast, as Professor Baird informs me, but without knowledge of the fact, the rebels made the discovery, and drew thence for a time considerable supplies of salt.

Salt is, of course, soluble in water, but as the solution must take place on the surface of the mass, where the crystallization is so perfectly compact, as in this specimen, and as the depth of this stratum has never been measured, there is no telling on what foundations, licked through the ages by the craving sea, may rest the "everlasting" rocks of the coast. MILTONIUS.

LIFE TOO SHORT FOR STRIFE.—Charles Dickens relates the following of Douglass Jerrold:

"Of his generosity I had a proof within these two or three years, which it saddens me to think of now. There had been estrangement between us—not on any personal subject, and not involving angry words—and a good many months passed without my ever seeing him in the streets, when it fell out that we dined, each with his own separate party, in the Stranger's Room of the Club. Our chairs were almost back to back, and I took mine after he was seated and at dinner (I am sorry to remember) and did not look that way. Before we had sat long, he openly wheeled his chair round, stretched out both hands in an engaging manner, and said aloud, with a bright and loving face, that I can see as I write to you: 'Let us be friends again. A life is not long enough for this!'

"Jerrold was not a Christian, but his conduct in this case was worthy of the Christian character. On a dying bed, how insignificant will appear many things about which we contend in bitterness and wrath! Life is too short, its inevitable sorrows so many, its responsibilities so vast and solemn, that there is, indeed, no time to spare in abusing and maligning one another. Let not the sun go down on your wrath. Never close your eyes to sleep with a heart angry towards your brother and fellow-sufferer. See him and be reconciled to him if you can. If you cannot see him, write to him. If he is a true man and a Christian, he will listen. If he is not, you will have done right, and your soul will be bright with the sunshine of heaven."

THE RAINY DAY.

BY H. W. LONGFELLOW.

THE day is cold, and dark, and dreary;
It rains, and the wind is never weary;
The vine still clings to the mouldering wall,
But at every gust the dead leaves fall,
And the day is dark and dreary.

My life is cold, and dark, and dreary;
It rains, and the wind is never weary;
My thoughts still cling to the mouldering Past,
But the hopes of youth fall thick in the blast,
And the days are dark and dreary.

Be still, sad heart! and cease repining,
Behind the clouds is the sun still shining;
Thy fate is the common fate of all,—
Into each life some rain must fall,
Some days must be dark and dreary.

PERSONAL SKETCHES OF TENNYSON.—A writer, styling himself "Harry Harewood Leach," writes a letter about Tennyson, from which we make the following extracts: "He (Tennyson) is perhaps five feet nine inches in height, but he stoops much as he walks, and thus looks shorter. He does not seem to be above fifty years of age; yet his gait is feeble, and the wearing of glasses adds to the impression of being older. His dress is extremely old-fashioned; indeed he looks more like an old picture stepping out of a frame, than a gentleman of the nineteenth century. His coat, short in the waist, was of a gray mixed color, and fitted him very tight; vest and trousers of the same material. Around his ample shirt collar a black cravat was loosely tied. But nothing could detract from the power of his massive forehead, high and broad, and nothing could be more picturesque than the long black hair, fine as silk (but plentifully mixed with gray) which fell over his fine head down even to his shoulders. His eyes are dark gray, I think, and have the peculiar appearance about the lids common to all students, and especially night readers, which is very clearly perceived and defined by photographs of the poet. His mouth is constantly smiling, but his eyes seem to be absent while he is speaking, searching everywhere for something that is not present—that strange, speculative look that is not easy to convey by description, and must be comprehended rather than clearly defined. His voice is rich and sonorous, but he chooses his words slowly, and, I should think by this, betrays that his composition is equally careful and slow."

WALLENSTEIN'S BIRTHPLACE.—Few even of the most careful readers of history, or the warmest admirers of Schiller's great drama, probably recall the fact that Nachod, in Bohemia, which has figured so prominently in the accounts of the struggle between Austria and Prussia, was the birthplace of the famous Wallenstein. This little town of 3,000 inhabitants has an old church and castle, both of which are connected with the history of his family. The church contains the tombs of the ancient Bohemian family of Smirziczki, of which Wallenstein's mother was a representative. The castle also—which stands on a steep rock behind the market place, ascended by a flight of 333 steps—after passing through various hands came into the possession of that family. Terzki, Wallenstein's brother-in-law, was its lord until after the murder of Wallenstein, when Piccolomini received it as the reward for his share in that business. He rebuilt the castle, as is testified by his inscription still existing; and although his family long since died out, their portraits still remain. The castle is now the property of Prince Auersperg of Prague, whose best title to a place in human memory seems likely to be found in his ownership of this interesting spot.

ELOQUENCE.—Though a great man said that "words were things," the agents who have created greatest things were men of fewest words. Washington could not have made an oration to save his life, and Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration of Independence, had but small power of thinking on his feet. We do not underrate the force of grand and impassioned speech; we hold that utterance is a sublime faculty, that it can set the brain on fire, and the heart in flame; but to guide a nation when that nation has reached its climax of excitement, the finest utterances will be feeble. It was Moses who led the host of Israel out from Egypt, and to the borders of the promised land, yet Moses was poor of speech. Aaron, who was eloquent, was but the mouth of Moses, and Aaron was always only secondary.—*Giles.*

"WHO GOES THERE?" a book recently published by Carleton, in its sketch of George Washington, gives the following refreshing anecdote. The only man, of whom any record is kept, who was not awed by the presence of the Father of His Country, was James Byrnes. He owned a piece of land which Washington desired to have included in his plan of the Federal capital. Mr. Byrnes flatly refused:

"Unused to opposition, Washington turned upon him and said, as he only could say it, 'Mr. James Byrnes! what would your land have been worth if I had not placed this city on the Potomac?' Byrnes was not crushed; but, undismayed, coolly turned to him and said: 'George Washington, what would you have been worth if you had not married the widow Custis?'"

A HOME THRUST.—A correspondent of the Nashua *Gazette*, writing from a town out West, gives the following specimen of the smartness of its children:

"We *do* have *some* smart children here, and here is one of them. A religious society, worshipping not many miles from the residence of the scribe hereof, decided to build a new church this season, and the pastor, among others, was chosen to solicit funds. He did his work very zealously, taking not only the widow's but the child's mites. Well, he has a class of children in the Sabbath school, and one Sunday, not long since, while instructing them, he compared himself to the Good Shepherd, and then inquired what the latter did with his flock. One bright-eyed little fellow promptly replied, 'He *shears* them!' There was some smiling at that answer."

LOUDER.—A man lately went to the post office, and putting his nose close to the delivery box, cried out "Louder!" The clerk supposing the man to be deaf, and that he was requesting him to speak louder, so that he could hear, asked him in a loud tone the name of the party for whom he wanted the letter. "Louder!" cried the man. "What name," yelled the clerk. "Louder!" again bawled the man, who now supposed the clerk to be deaf. The clerk took a long breath, and with all his might again bellowed out in the man's face the same question, "What name?" This was done in so loud a tone that the echo seemed to return from the far-off hills. The man started back in alarm, shouting to the very top of his big lungs—"Louder, sir, Louder! I told you Louder! my name is nothing else!"

SOUTHERN AFFAIRS.

"RECONSTRUCTION" IN BASE BALL—SOUTHERN COURTESY.

Special Dispatch to the N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Monday, Oct. 1, 1866.

THE Union Base Ball Club of Richmond, composed entirely of clerks in the employ of the government, having sent a challenge to the Richmond Club to play a match game, received the following reply:

RICHMOND, Sept. 22, 1866.

J. F. DOOLEY, *Secretary Union Base Ball Club.*

SIR: Your communication of the 21st inst. is before me. I am instructed to state that the Richmond Ball Club does not desire, and will not play the Union Club a single game. We are not, nor do we expect to be, members of the National Base Ball Convention. Our reason: we are Southerners. Hoping this may be satisfactory, I am,

J. V. BIDGOOD,
Secretary Richmond Base Ball Club.

FIRE AND SWORD.

The Richmond *Times* sees in the threats of civil war made by the President's friends, a prospect of carrying fire and sword through the North, and welcomes it in this wise:

"It may be considered that we have already had enough to chasten our people. But the chastening has been partial and one-sided. One storm is often insufficient to purify the atmosphere, and the North has not had such a deluge as would cleanse all her gutters. Her turn is yet to come, and the rash folly and mad action of her malignant spirits may be the selected instruments of Heaven for her purification."

GOV. PATTON BEGS THE REISSUE OF RATIONS.

WAR DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF REFUGEES, FREEDMEN, AND ABANDONED LANDS,
WASHINGTON, Dec. 28, 1866.

Hon. E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*

SIR: Having received a copy of Gov. Patton's letter to the President, dated September 13, 1866, soliciting a suspension of Circular No. 10 from this Bureau, and representing that the actual sufferers in Alabama for want of food are from "seventy to eighty thousand, the larger portion of whom are widows and orphans," and that "three-fourths of this number are absolutely dependent upon government or charitable contributions for subsistence; and representing further a depleted State treasury, and an embarrassed credit, and having in addition to these representations received several recommendations from Maj.-Gen. Swayne, Assistant-Commander, to the same effect, I recommend that special relief be furnished from the appropriations for that purpose, not to exceed forty thousand dollars ($40,000) per month, for the period of three months.

It is proper to notice that in Alabama, according to the last report, there were more than two whites credited with rations to one colored person.

Very respectfully,
O. O. HOWARD, Maj-Gen. Commanding.

WAR DEPARTMENT, Sept. 28, 1866.

In view of the foregoing statement, the order of the 23d of August, stopping the issue, is modified so as to allow the issue of corn and bacon as requested by Gov. Patton for the period and quantities above mentioned, in the State of Alabama.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

Gov. Patton, of Alabama, has requested, and obtained, the reissue of rations by the Freedmen's Bureau, representing that seventy to eighty thousand persons in that State, chiefly widows and orphans, are suffering for the want of food. Gov. Patton was one of those who recommended the stoppage of rations. His present request was sustained by Gen. Howard, who notes the important fact that in the latest report there were more than two whites credited with rations to one colored person. We suppose this important fact will make no change in the abuse lavished upon the Freedmen's Bureau, as an almshouse for negroes.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

"HANGING ON THE VERGE."

THAT'S THE DOCTRINE.—The Louisville *Courier* urges the President no longer to recognize "the present piece of Congress" until it admits the Southern members—to "protect himself by denying its legitimacy and authority, and resisting its arbitrary and illegal enactments." We hope to learn before long that the President has taken up with this idea. There is no use in temporizing with such men as the Radicals, who have no more conception of the binding force of constitutional obligations than a blind man has of colors. They repudiate every duty they owe to the Southern people as joint owners of the Union, and speak of us and our States as if we belonged to them. It is no slander to say that the Radicals have lost all sense of honor as between man and man in their insane hatred of the Southern people. If they treat one another at home as they propose to treat us, it must be a delightful country to live in—equal to Central Africa.—*Richmond Dispatch.*

NEW ORLEANS.

An Important Statement.—Rebel Secret Societies.—The Rebellion to be Renewed.—Freedmen Whipped.—The Brenham Affair.—Letter from Gen. Sheridan.

Special Dispatch to the N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, Oct. 4, 1866.

The following dispatch has just been received from the *Tribune* Bureau in New Orleans:

NEW ORLEANS, LA., Thursday, Oct. 4, 1866.

Some important disclosures will soon be officially made public in reference to secret rebel Societies, which permeate the entire South. These organizations have branch circles in New York City and the West. That in New York is said to number 50,000, principally composed of men who served in the rebel army. Each circle has a different name. Some are known as "The True Sons of the South," others as "The Knights of Arabia," and all are well armed with the most improved weapons, ready at a moment's notice, should a favorable opportunity arise, to renew the struggle for the lost cause. One of the chief members of this organization, now in prison, is said to have made important disclosures. Gen. Sheridan is concentrating troops in this city for important purposes, which will soon be made apparent.

Nine cases of whipping of negroes have been recently officially reported in the parish of Bienville. One old woman, 70 years of age, received 400 lashes.

The following explains itself:

NEW ORLEANS, Sept. 20, 1866.

To his Excellency, Gov. THROCKMORTON.

I have just received from Col. Mason his report on the affair which occurred at Brenham, Texas, on the 7th inst., and have directed him to notify Brevet-Maj. Smith that he must not permit himself nor any of his men to be arrested. I respectfully request of your Excellency to do all in your power to allay the excitement there, and I will do all in my power to satisfy the ends of justice in every case, *but I doubt if much justice could be done in a community which compels our officers and soldiers to remain inside of the defense thrown around their camps.* I will have an additional and thorough investigation of this affair, if possible, to ascertain if any soldiers were guilty of the affair, but Col. Mason is clearly of the impression that those designated for arrest are innocent.

Respectfully, your obt. servant,
P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General U. S. A.

TEXAS.

The Burning of Brenham.—Rebels Disarmed.—The Freedmen.

NEW ORLEANS, Thursday, Oct. 4, 1866.

Capt. Smith, Commandant at Brenham, Texas, who was charged with the knowledge of the burning of the town, has issued an order for the disarming of all the inhabitants of the neighborhood, and in effect declares martial law. He states that the cases of outrages to freedmen being on the increase, he intends to render every assistance to the Bureau Agent in order that justice may be done the freedmen, and the guilty parties brought to justice.

Gen. Kidder has issued a circular to Sub-Assistant Commissioners in Texas, to make tours in their respective districts, and exhort the freedmen who work for wages to a faithful and just fulfilment of their contracts, and those working for a portion of the crops to diligence in securing the results of their Summer's labor. He advises the employers of freedmen to deal with them in the settlement of their accounts in a fair and equitable manner.

"CIVIL RIGHTS" IN DIXIE.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

Mr. Rider, a born Southerner, living near Jackson, La., has seen fit to let a part of his land in parcels to blacks, who agree to give him a specified proportion of the crops. This arrangement is perfectly satisfactory to the parties, but not to their reconstructed white neighbors in Jackson, who recently addressed to Mr. Rider this note:

MR. RIDER—*Sir:* We have bin informed that you Are lowing Niggers to squat about on your land, or in other words you Are Renting Niggers land. One of OuR Committee told you that you Wold Be Burnt out, But you would not pay any attention to him. Now, Sir, your gin House is Burnt, for renting Niggers land. If this is not sufficient warning, we will Burn everything on your place, if that don't break it up We will then shoot the Niggers. Beware, sir, before it is too late or you will be waited on by A COMMITTEE.

The Niggers ARe not to Be Blamed You are the villain. C.

Since writing the above, we have decided to Burn more than your gin house, and will kill you if you Don't BReak up youR infamous Nigger camps. A COMMITTEE.

I certify that the above is a true copy of the original.

E. P. LORING, Major 10th U. S. C. H. Art'y,
Late Com. at Port Hudson, L.

The following note from a Louisiana Johnsonite has been sent us, like the foregoing, by a U. S. army officer on duty there, as an illustration of the spirit now rife there:

FAIRVIEW, Jan. 31, '66.

DR. WITCHER—*Dear Sir:* pleas Ride out to My house early as posable, to See a boy that was hurt Sevarely by being struck over the head with the brich of a gun by a boy by the name of Ellix, pleas to notify the Yankeys orthority to Com out and arrest the Dam Rascal If they refuse to com, Say to them that I will put him Ellix at Rest—the boy that is hurt is a favorite of mine.

JESSE DAVIS.

SEWARD is mean and malignant, and he has been employed ever since the Summer of 1860 in striving for revenge on the men who so wisely prevented his nomination for the presidency at that time. To seek the presidency generally makes a man silly. It has made Seward silly, and something more: it has made him base. He is a man of mind, and his conduct is one of the most painful of the many evidences that are citable that men of high intellectual powers can be the most odious of creatures. He belongs to that order of New York politicians of whom Aaron Burr was the first, Martin Van Buren the most contemptible, Henry J. Raymond is the smallest, and William H. Seward the worst. He is yet seeking the presidency, and we shall see him try to trip up Mr. Johnson a year or two hence, and then there will be an end of him; and as Burr fell because he was an assassin, and Van Buren because he was a coward, so will Seward sink under the enormous weight of his meanness.—*Boston Traveller.*

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4. The stitch made by these machines is much more firm, elastic, and durable, especially upon articles which require to be washed and ironed, than any other stitch.
5. This stitch, owing to the manner in which the under thread is inwrought, is much the most plump and beautiful in use, and retains this plumpness and beauty even upon articles frequently washed and ironed until they are worn out.
6. The structure of the seam is such that, though it be cut or broken at intervals of only a few stitches, it will neither open, run, or ravel; but remains firm and durable.
7. Unlike other machines, these fasten both ends of the seam by their own operation.
8. With these machines, while silk is used upon the right or face side of the seam, cotton may be used upon the other side without lessening the strength or durability of the seam. This can be done on no other machine, and is a great saving upon all articles stitched or made up with silk.
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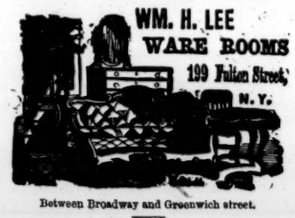

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EDITED BY S. H. MORSE.

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